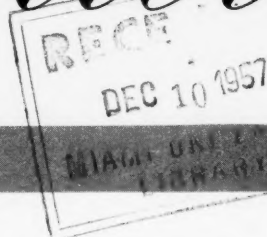


THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE



Bulletin



Vol. XXXVII, No. 962

December 2, 1957

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FOREIGN POLICY

THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Bulletin

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December 2, 1957

The Department of State BULLETIN, a weekly publication issued by the Public Services Division, provides the public and interested agencies of the Government with information on developments in the field of foreign relations and on the work of the Department of State and the Foreign Service. The BULLETIN includes selected press releases on foreign policy, issued by the White House and the Department, and statements and addresses made by the President and by the Secretary of State and other officers of the Department, as well as special articles on various phases of international affairs and the functions of the Department. Information is included concerning treaties and international agreements to which the United States is or may become a party and treaties of general international interest.

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Our Future Security

Address by President Eisenhower¹

Last week I spoke of science in security; this evening I speak of security in a somewhat wider context.

We live in one of the great ages in the story of mankind. For millions of people science has removed the burden of backbreaking toil. For other millions the hope of a good life is being translated into definite promise. In this wonderful age we Americans have a special responsibility. We were given a fresh continent and an opportunity to work out a modern dream of how men should work together, live together, and govern themselves. Drawing on all the cultures of the past, and on the rapid growth of science, we worked out a way in which every person can be his own competitive self and at the same time be a dedicated member of a harmonious community.

Now this week the Soviets are celebrating the 40th anniversary of their revolution. These four decades have seen them change from an agricultural to an industrial nation. We know of their rigorous educational system and their technological achievements.

But we see all this happening under a political philosophy that postpones again and again the promise to each man that he will be allowed to be himself and to enjoy, according to his own desires, the fruits of his own labor. We have long had evidence, recently very dramatic evidence, that even under such a system it is possible to

produce some remarkable material achievements. When such competence in things material is at the service of leaders who have so little regard for things human, and who command the power of an empire, there is danger ahead for free men everywhere. That, my friends, is the reason why the American people have been so aroused about the earth satellites.

Of course, free men are meeting and will meet this challenge.

Up to a point, this must be done on the Communists' own terms—outmatching them in military power, general technological advance, and specialized education and research. But this is not all the story. The real strength with which the self-governing democracies have met the tests of history is something denied to dictatorships. It is found in the quality of our life and the vigor of our ideals. It manifests itself in the ever-astonishing capacity of free men for voluntary heroism, sacrifice, and accomplishment when the chips are down. This is the weapon which has meant eventual downfall for every dictator who has made the familiar mistake of thinking all democracies "soft."

Now, once again, we hear an expansionist regime declaring, "We will bury you." In a bit of American vernacular, "Oh yeah?" It would be a grave error not to take this kind of threat literally. This theme has been a Communist doctrine for a hundred years.

But you may recall that there was once a dictator named Hitler who also said he would bury us. He wrote a long, dull book telling precisely how he was going to do it. Not enough people took him at his word.

We shall not make that mistake again.

¹ Made at Oklahoma City, Okla., on Nov. 13 at the celebration of the 50th anniversary of Oklahoma statehood (White House press release). For an address by President Eisenhower on "Science in National Security" on Nov. 7, see *BULLETIN* of Nov. 25, 1957, p. 819.

International communism has demonstrated repeatedly that its leaders are quite willing to launch aggression by violence upon other countries. They are even more ready to expand by propaganda and subversion, economic penetration and exploitation. Mostly they use a combination of all three methods.

The free world must therefore be alert to all.

Military Defense

Our military defenses have been largely reshaped over the years since World War II. I assure you, as I did last week, that for the conditions existing today they are both efficient and adequate. But if they are to remain so for the future, their design and power must keep pace with the increasing capabilities that science gives both to the aggressor and the defender. They must continue to perform four main tasks:

1. As a primary deterrent to war, maintain a strong nuclear retaliatory power. The Soviets must be convinced that any attack on us and our allies would result, regardless of damage to us, in their own national destruction.

2. In cooperation with our allies, provide a force structure so flexible that it can cope quickly with any form of aggression against the free world.

3. Keep our home defenses in a high state of efficiency.

4. Have the reserve strength to meet unforeseen emergency demands.

To provide this kind of defense requires tax money—lots of it. During the last 5 fiscal years we have spent \$211 billion on our security—an average of over \$42 billion a year. This includes our own armed services, mutual military aid, and the Atomic Energy Commission.

In my judgment, the Armed Forces and their scientific associates have, on the whole, used this money wisely and well. Much of it has gone and is going into better and more powerful weapons.

A single B-52 bomber costs \$8 million. The B-52 wing costs four times as much as the B-36 wing it replaces.

The Nike missile, which has largely replaced antiaircraft artillery, costs three times as much per battalion.

A new submarine costs \$47½ million—10 times the cost of a World War II submarine.

And so on, for our entire arsenal of equipment.

Development of Advanced Weapons

Now, for some years increasing attention has been focused on the invention, development, and testing of even more advanced weapons for future use. The Defense Department has been spending in the aggregate over \$5 billion a year on this kind of research and development.

There has been much discussion lately about whether Soviet technological breakthroughs in particular areas may have suddenly exposed us to immediately increased danger, in spite of the strength of our defenses. As I pointed out last week, this is not the case. But these scientific accomplishments of theirs have provided us all with renewed evidence of Soviet competence in science and techniques important to modern warfare. We must, and do, regard this as a time for another critical reexamination of our entire defense position.

The sputniks have inspired a wide variety of suggestions. These range from acceleration of missile programs, to shooting a rocket around the moon, to an indiscriminate increase in every kind of military and scientific expenditure.

Now, my friends, common sense demands that we put first things first.

The first of all firsts is our Nation's security!

Over the next 3 weeks I shall be personally making our annual review, with military and civilian authorities, of our national security activities for the coming year. Then, I shall meet with the legislative leaders of Congress, from both Houses and both parties, for conferences on policies, actions, and expenditures.

In the meantime, I ask your sober consideration of some of the actions to which we must give our most urgent attention.

Today, as I have said, a principal deterrent to war is the retaliatory nuclear power of our Strategic Air Command and our Navy. We are adding missile power to these arms and to the Army as rapidly as possible. But it will be some time before either we or the Soviet forces will have long-range missile capability equal to even a small fraction of the total destructive power of our present bomber force.

To continue, over the years just ahead, to maintain the Strategic Air Command in a state of maximum safety, strength, and alert, as new kinds of threats develop, will entail additional costs. This means accelerating the dispersal of Strategic Air Command to additional bases. This work, which has been going forward for some years, ought now to be speeded up.

Also, with missiles and faster bombers, warning times will grow shorter. Therefore, we have been providing facilities for quicker response to emergency alarm. This, too, should be speeded up—through standby combat crews, more runways, more fueling stations, and more housing.

Next, to achieve maximum possible warning of any future attack, we must carry on additional improvements throughout our warning line that are now scientifically feasible.

Another need is to develop an active missile defense against missiles. This item is undergoing intensive research and development within the Defense Department.

Now, to increase retaliatory power, we shall be adding long-range missiles, both land and ship-based, to our security forces. The technicians tell me that development of the long-range ballistic missile cannot be markedly accelerated by expenditure of more money. We are now spending more than \$1 billion a year on their research and testing. But, of course, where needed, additional sums will be provided. Moreover, it is clear that production, deployment, and installation of missiles over the period ahead, when they become available, will be costly.

Next, the military services are underpaid. We must be fair with them. Justice demands this, but also compelling is the factor of efficiency in our defense forces. We cannot obtain and retain the necessary level of technical proficiency unless officers and men, in sufficient numbers, will make the armed services their careers.

Now, let's turn briefly to our satellite projects.

Confronted with the essential requirements I have indicated for defense, we must adopt a sensible formula to guide us in deciding what satellite and outer-space activity to undertake.

Certainly there should be two tests in this formula.

If the project is designed solely for scientific purposes, its size and its cost must be tailored to the scientific job it is going to do. That

is the case in the present Vanguard project now under way.

If the project has some ultimate defense value, its urgency for this purpose is to be judged in comparison with the probable value of competing defense projects.

Rising Costs

Now, all these new costs, which in the aggregate will reach a very considerable figure, must be added to our current annual expenditures for security. There is no immediate prospect of any marked reduction in these recurring costs. Consequently, the first thing is to search for other places to cut expenditures. We must once more go over all other military expenditures with redoubled determination to save every possible dime. We must make sure that we have no needless duplication or obsolete programs or facilities.

The answer does not lie in any misguided attempt to eliminate conventional forces and rely solely upon retaliation. Such a course would be completely self-defeating.

And, most emphatically, the answer does not lie in cutting mutual defense funds overseas—another important part of our own Nation's security. We are linked with 42 countries by military assistance agreements. We could not possibly station our troops all over the world to prevent the overflow of communism. It is much more economical and vastly more effective to follow and strengthen our system of collective security.

The same applies to economic aid. This kind of assistance helps others keep free of dependence upon the Soviet help, which too often is the prelude to Soviet domination. It shows the free world's ability to develop its resources and to increase its living standards. It helps allied economies support needed military units and remain sturdy partners of ours in this worldwide struggle.

Now, in the Federal Government's civilian activities, we shall have to make some tough choices. Some programs, while desirable, are not absolutely essential. In this I have reached a clear conclusion. Some savings may still be squeezed out through the wringer method. This will be one of the hardest and most distasteful tasks that the coming session of Congress must face. And pressure groups will wail in anguish.

Now, by whatever amount savings fail to equal the additional costs of security, our total expenditures will go up. Our people will rightly demand it. They will not sacrifice security to worship a balanced budget. But we do not forget, either, that over the long term a balanced budget is one indispensable aid in keeping our economy, and therefore our total security, strong and sound.

Now, there is much more to the matter of security than the mere spending of money. There are also such things as the professional competence of our military leaders—and there are none better; the soundness and productivity of our economy—and there is none to equal it; and, above all, the spiritual strength of our Nation—which has seen us through every crisis of the past.

And one thing that money cannot buy is time. Frequently time is a more valuable coin than is money. It takes time for a tree to grow, for an idea to become an accomplishment, for a student to become a scientist.

Time is a big factor in two longer-term problems: strengthening our scientific education and our basic research.

Strengthening Scientific Education

The Soviet Union now has, in the combined category of scientists and engineers, a greater number than the United States; and it is producing graduates in these fields at a much faster rate. Recent studies of the educational standards of the Soviet Union show that this gain in quantity can no longer be considered offset by lack of quality. This trend is disturbing. Indeed, according to my scientific advisers, this is for the American people the most critical problem of all.

My scientific advisers place this problem above all other immediate tasks of producing missiles, of developing new techniques in the armed services. We need scientists in the 10 years ahead. They say we need them by thousands more than we are now presently planning to have.

The Federal Government can deal with only part of this difficulty, but it must and will do its part. The task is a cooperative one. Federal, State, and local governments, and our entire citizenry, must all do their share.

We should, among other things, have a system of nationwide testing of high-school students; a system of incentives for high-aptitude students to

pursue scientific or professional studies; a program to stimulate good-quality teaching of mathematics and science; provision of more laboratory facilities; and measures, including fellowships, to increase the output of qualified teachers.

The biggest part of the task is in the hands of you, as citizens. This is National Education Week. It should be National Education Year. No matter how good your school is—and we have many excellent ones—I wish that every school board and every PTA would this week and this year make one single project their special order of business. This is to scrutinize your school's curriculum and standards. Then decide for yourselves whether they meet the stern demands of the era we are entering.

As you do this, my friends, remember that, when a Russian graduates from high school, he has had 5 years of physics, 4 years of chemistry, 1 year of astronomy, 5 years of biology, 10 years of mathematics through trigonometry, and 5 years of a foreign language.

Young people now in college must be equipped to live in the age of intercontinental ballistic missiles. However, what will then be needed is not just engineers and scientists but a people who will keep their heads and, in every field, leaders who can meet intricate human problems with wisdom and courage. In short, we will need not only Einsteins and Steinmetzes, but Washingtons and Emersons.

Basic Research

Another long-term concern is for even greater concentration on basic research, that is, the kind that unlocks the secrets of nature and prepares the way for such great breakthroughs as atomic fission, electronics, and antibiotics.

At present, our basic research, compared with any other country's, is considerably greater in quantity and certainly equal in quality. The warning lies in the fast rate of increase of the Soviet effort and their obvious determination to concentrate heavily on basic research.

The world will witness future discoveries even more startling than that of nuclear fission. The question is: Will we be the ones to make them?

Here again, money cannot do everything. You cannot say to a research worker, "Your salary is tripled; get busy now and produce three times

as many basic discoveries." But wise investment in such facilities as laboratories and high-energy accelerators can greatly increase the efficiency of our scientists.

The Government is stepping up its basic research programs. But, with 70 percent of research expenditures, the biggest share of the job is in the hands of industry and private organizations.

Right here in Oklahoma City you have established a superb mechanism for the mobilization of needed resources to strengthen our pursuit of scientific knowledge. It is the Frontiers of Science Foundation. Today I had the great privilege of a few minutes' visit with Dr. Harlow and with about half a dozen of his bright youngsters. I congratulate you on them and on the institution. You have every reason to be proud

of both, and I hope other States will follow your example.

And now one final word: The goal we seek is peace with justice. This can come to our Nation only as it comes to all nations. The world's hope is that the Soviets will cooperate with all the rest of us in achieving this goal. Our defense effort, large as it is, goes only far enough to deter and defeat attack.

We will never be an aggressor. We want adequate security. We want no more than adequacy. But we will accept nothing less.

My friends, it has always been my faith that eventual triumph of decency and freedom and right in this world is inevitable. But, as a wise American once observed, it takes a lot of hard work and sacrifice by a lot of people to bring about the inevitable.

The Challenge Today in Trade Policy

by W. T. M. Beale, Jr.

Deputy Assistant Secretary for Economic Affairs¹

This occasion enables me to talk with you about a vitally important issue in the field of foreign economic policy. It is not a new subject, but it is no less important for that fact. In 1934 the United States launched the trade agreements program. That program had its beginning during years of depression. It put the United States in the forefront of the movement toward liberalized trade. It may not be too farfetched to say that in the field of international trade the launching of the trade agreements program at that time roughly compares in the scientific field to the rocket launchings of the present day.

The vitally important issue for us is whether United States leadership in the field of economic

foreign policy is to be maintained. One day last week most of the articles on the front page of the New York Times were devoted to some aspect of the second Soviet satellite. The only news item on that page having to do with domestic national policy was headlined "Reciprocal Trade Under Heavy Fire—Protectionists Start Assault on Low Tariff Policy." If that article is to be believed, there are pressures building up in this particular field which, if successful, would force us not forward but backward and in the wrong direction.

I don't know how many of you have stopped during the last few days to think about what has happened in the past 6 weeks. Sputnik was launched on October 4. On October 22 our Air Force floated a rocket nearly 20 miles up in a balloon and then shot it at least 2,700 miles into outer space. On November 3 the Russians

¹ Address made before the California Farm Bureau Federation at Fresno, Calif., on Nov. 13 (press release 623 dated Nov. 12).

launched their second satellite. By putting a dog in that one, the Russians made certain of arousing the interest of those who may conceivably have missed the first one.

I am recalling these outstanding events in the scientific field, with their military implications, not to suggest that they are a cause for gloom but rather that they offer a challenge which we as Americans should not hesitate to accept. During the same period the President and the Prime Minister of Great Britain met and agreed that henceforth their two countries would act in accordance with the principle that free nations can find progress and safety only "by combining their resources and sharing tasks in many fields." Although their major concern was with collective security efforts, they recognized that those efforts must be supported and reinforced by cooperative economic action. As they put it in their final communique: "The present offers a challenging opportunity for improvement of trading conditions and the expansion of trade throughout the free world."²

"An Era of Interdependence"

Shortly after the historic meeting was over the Secretary of State pointed up the lesson of recent events saying that "we have got to accept the implications of an era of interdependence."³ Some of the implications of the new era are scientific and military. I am not here to discuss those. Others are economic. My concern today is with one of the economic implications of an era of interdependence. It is this:

Our country must have a foreign economic policy adapted to the modern world—and to the interstellar age, if I may put it that way.

Man took an important step forward when steam was substituted for oats. Now we are beginning to use atomic energy. We cannot return to the horse as a primary source of transportation and power. Neither can we safely go back to a restrictive trade policy. We must have a trade program that will enable this country to move forward, not backward. We must continue a policy that furthers the national interest and not one that will undermine it. The choice lies between trade cooperation or trade isolationism.

² BULLETIN of Nov. 11, 1957, p. 739.

³ *Ibid.*, Nov. 18, 1957, p. 787.

The President and Prime Minister, in their communique, linked trade with security. That connection has been recognized for a long time. There is nothing strange about the idea that trade policy is closely related to collective security. What *is* strange is that, after all the technological changes and upheavals and danger signals of the last 10 years, the opponents of trade cooperation should be able to exert as much influence as they do. Henry Ford II has called this "one of the great continuing paradoxes of our country."

For a long time it has been obvious that the United States can best promote its own welfare *and* the strength of the free world by encouraging freer trade. Both the present and preceding administrations have acted on the basis of that realization. I have no doubt that a majority of Americans, including a majority of farmers and a majority of businessmen, favor that policy.

Nevertheless, 24½ years have passed since 30-odd governments, at the initiative of the United States, drew up an agreement to establish an Organization for Trade Cooperation, and the United States has not yet joined.

Furthermore, although world events have emphasized the urgent need for renewal of the Trade Agreements Act, there is strong opposition to it. The newspaper article I mentioned earlier reported that a crucial battle over the extension of the act without restrictive amendments is in the making. The outcome was described as "very much in doubt." A recent news story in the *Baltimore Sun* described the coming debate as probably the most spectacular battle over foreign trade policy since the early 1930's.

I hope all Americans will realize that the national decision on this question must be made in the full awareness of the foreign policy objectives of the United States and not solely in terms of the problems of certain domestic industries or firms, although such problems, of course, do have a legitimate place in the debate.

What is our basic foreign policy objective? It is to promote the security and well-being of the Nation as a whole. And since this is an interdependent world in which no country, regardless of how powerful, can go it alone, this objective can be achieved only through cooperation among nations. It follows that it is in our own en-

lightened self-interest to pursue a policy of international cooperation.

Obviously, it would be folly to adopt economic foreign policies that conflicted with our basic foreign policy aims. There's no sense in doing things with one hand and undoing them with the other. Therefore our foreign economic policy is designed to promote the economic strength of the United States and of other free countries—and to build and maintain cohesion in the free world.

If we are to achieve our objectives, we must work along two lines. First, we must do everything possible to expand international trade and make it mutually profitable. Second, we must see to it that there is an adequate flow of international capital—private capital wherever possible, government capital where necessary—into the regions of greatest need. Strong and determined efforts along both lines are essential if we are to serve the best interests of the Nation.

Expansion of Trade

My concern today is with the expansion of trade. Let me talk briefly about how that goal can be reached. It is not enough to have sound objectives and good intentions. Governments must have the means to carry them out. Trade itself is one of those means.

Trade means exchange; imports are as vitally important as exports. They make it possible for other nations to pay for the goods they take from us. They benefit all of us as consumers. We cannot hope to have a strong, cohesive free world if we are interested only in selling more and not in buying more. That is why our foreign trade policy is directed at the reduction of trade barriers—not only those built by other countries but those we have built ourselves.

Let me turn to one of the principal means by which trade barriers are reduced. The Trade Agreements Act has been extended on 10 different occasions since it was first enacted in 1934. As you know, the act authorizes the President to enter into agreements for the reduction of tariffs and other barriers to trade, on a reciprocal and mutually advantageous basis. Unless the act is renewed in the coming session of Congress, that authority will expire on June 30. Because the administration is convinced that the program has helped our own economy and is essential to closer

free-world cooperation, the President plans to request authority so that those gains can be insured and expanded. The details of the program are to be announced very soon. Recently the Vice President stated that the act should be renewed for at least 5 years.

The Trade Agreements Act can be described as the domestic instrument by which our trade policy is carried out. The principal international instrument is the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, or the GATT, as it is called. The GATT now has 37 signatories. These 37 countries account for more than four-fifths of all the foreign trade of the world. Two weeks ago today these countries celebrated the 10th anniversary of the original signing of the GATT.⁴

Because of your interest in foreign trade in farm products you are probably more familiar with the GATT than the average American. It is an unfortunate but inescapable fact that the GATT is neither widely known nor understood in the very country that leads the world in international trade.

Perhaps that is because the GATT works without blowing of horns and beating of drums. Those who know what it does and can do, however, are greatly impressed by it. They recognize, for example, that it provides the only forum where both industrial and underdeveloped nations of the free world come together to deal with their trade problems.

You may well ask, what is the GATT?

It consists partly of long lists of import tariff rates which the United States and the other countries, in five big bargaining sessions, have either reduced or agreed not to increase. There are about 60,000 of these rates on the list. They cover trade worth about \$40 billion a year.

It also includes a set of common rules for fair trade. The underlying principle is nondiscrimination in trade matters. Basically the idea is that competition in the marketplace should decide what products and how much of them are sold in international trade.

Finally, the GATT contains so-called organizational provisions. This part is much weaker than the other two. Actually the GATT is not an organization in the formal sense but only a

⁴ *Ibid.*, Nov. 25, 1957, p. 846.

contract. At present it has to be administered largely through meetings of all the contracting governments. Obviously this is a cumbersome and slow-moving way of operating.

That is why the United States proposed the formation of the Organization for Trade Cooperation.

The OTC cannot come into existence until it has been accepted by countries having 85 percent of the trade of the whole group. Because our country alone has more than 20 percent, the organization will be no more than a dream until we ratify it. The fact that Congress will be asked to approve United States membership during the coming session is another reason why 1958 will be a challenging year in trade policy.

Meanwhile other countries are making decisions of their own. Because they realize the compelling advantages of a freer flow of trade, six European governments have determined to go all the way in that direction. As a result, the European Economic Community will soon come into existence.

This means that all barriers to the free movement of goods, capital, and labor will gradually be eliminated among France, the Federal Republic of Germany, Italy, the Netherlands, Belgium, and Luxembourg. At the same time they will merge into a single tariff the customs duties they now maintain toward the rest of the world. It is no wonder that the treaty signed in Rome last March has been called "the birth certificate of a European federation of states."

Our Government considers it an event of major historical importance. We welcome it as a means toward unity, strength, and peace among our European friends and allies.

Obviously the merging of six separate economies into one will bring problems in trade relationships between the six countries and the other GATT countries. This is natural and inevitable. But the GATT is the forum where such problems can be examined and settled.

The formation of the European Common Market⁵ makes it all the more important that we should have the OTC and a strong Trade Agreements Act. Unless the United States is able to

influence, in concrete ways, an outward-looking approach by the six members, the Common Market may develop along other lines.

The American Farmer and Trade Policy

So far I have said nothing about the stake of the American farmer in a forward-looking trade policy. But this audience will not have missed the implications of an era of interdependence. Farmers, like other Americans, stand to gain from a policy that serves the national interest of the United States. As much as anybody else, farmers want peace and freedom. As much as anybody else, they want the free world to stand together, friendly and strong and united, in an age of missiles and hydrogen bombs.

But farmers also have a special stake in such a policy because they are world traders in a big way. Their economic interests as farmers and their security interests as American citizens coincide. That is the way it should be, and that is why the American Farm Bureau Federation supported the original Trade Agreements Act and has always favored the extension of the program.

The latest figures on United States agricultural exports are impressive:

- \$4.7 billion in one year.
- the output of 60 million acres.
- 13½ percent of total cash farm income.
- 54 percent of our wheat production . . . 59 percent of our cotton . . . 83 percent of our rice . . . 45 percent of our tallow and grease . . . 25 percent of our tobacco.
- 264 million pounds of canned fruits . . . more than a billion pounds of fresh citrus fruits . . . 16 billion pounds of feed grains.

You may ask yourselves, how does the trade agreements program increase your earnings as an American farmer?

First, it expands your foreign markets by reducing trade barriers in other countries.

Second, it strengthens your foreign markets by reducing our own trade barriers so that foreign countries can earn dollars to pay for United States exports, including farm products.

Third, it strengthens your domestic markets by stimulating exports of American industry, thereby increasing the purchasing power of the industrial workers. It is an important fact that about 4½ million American workers and their

⁵ For an address on the Common Market by Ambassador James David Zellerbach, see *ibid.*, Oct. 14, 1957, p. 608.

families depend on foreign trade for their livelihood.

Each of you is conscious of the fact that very recent increases in farm exports have been due in part to Government programs. These programs have helped overcome problems arising out of a shortage of dollars abroad and differences between United States prices and world market prices. Last year 40 percent of U.S. farm exports was not paid for in dollars. And of the 60 percent that *was* paid for in dollars, about one-fifth moved at prices below those in the United States market.

I am sure that you are familiar with the varied programs that helped swell agricultural exports to \$4.7 billion. But you may not know that the 60 percent sold for dollars (\$2.8 billion) was the second highest annual total in recent years. The Department of Agriculture tells me that these expanded dollar sales are due in large part to our foreign trade and investment policies, which have helped many countries of the free world to improve their economic well-being and thereby become better customers for our farm products.

As the foreign-exchange position of these countries has improved, many have taken action to remove or ease restrictions on dollar purchases of fruit, cotton, and grain. Sometimes they have to be prodded, and this we are doing in cooperation with the Department of Agriculture in bilateral discussions and through the GATT mechanism.

Last year the produce from one acre out of five moved abroad. When you add to this the fact that four-fifths of all agricultural exports move to trade-agreement countries, we can only come to one conclusion—that no major segment of our national economy stands to gain as much from continuation and strengthening of the trade agreements program as U.S. agriculture.

One of the ways in which the farmer gains is through reductions in duties on the nonagricultural products he has to buy.

At this point some of you may be thinking: "But what about imports of *agricultural* products? Don't they hurt, rather than help, American farmers?" Let me make a few comments on that point.

As everybody knows, this country is not only a major exporter but also a major importer of agricultural products. About 60 percent of such im-

ports are things like coffee, tea, rubber, bananas, and spices. Obviously these products do not compete with the output of our farms. As for the remaining 40 percent, most farmers understand very well that in order to export we must import, and not merely things that cannot be produced in U.S. factories and on U.S. farms.

It is true, of course, that some of our farm products are more vulnerable to foreign competition than others. And thus our Government has imposed import quotas and other restrictions on certain commodities. Neither the Trade Agreements Act nor the GATT prohibits the use of such controls when the President decides special circumstances make them necessary. Those of you who are almond growers know that the President recently established a quota on imports of almonds.⁶

I will not attempt to argue the merits or demerits of particular cases. I have two things to say, however. First, every industry has the right to do its best to protect what it conceives to be its own interest and to argue its case just as strongly as possible. This is natural and understandable. Second, it should also be understandable that the Government, in deciding whether to use Government controls to aid a particular industry or a part of an industry, must take into account not only the arguments of industries and individuals but also the national interest of the country as a whole, including its foreign policies.

The Role of the Department of State

At this point I'd like to say a few words about the Department of State. It's just possible that some of you on occasion have had a few words to say about the Department of State. That is your right and privilege. However, since I have the floor, I propose to take advantage of it.

When cases come up for decision in Washington on whether to impose restrictions or reduce a tariff rate or take other actions affecting trade, the President seeks advice not merely from the Department of State but also from the Departments of Agriculture, Commerce, Labor, Treasury, Defense, and Interior, and the Tariff Commission. All of these agencies take part in the administration of the trade agreements program. I believe, as do many others who have watched the process

⁶ *Ibid.*, Nov. 25, 1957, p. 852.

more closely than I have over a longer period, that the trade agreements organization is one of the most effective interdepartmental groups in the entire Government. It is a classic example of effective cooperation.

Each agency gives the best advice of which it is capable. After receiving this advice the President determines what course is in the best interest of the Nation.

If the advice given by the Department of State happens to conflict with the position advocated by a private individual in his own interest, sometimes that person yields to the human temptation to assume that the Department has "favored foreigners over Americans." I am sure you will not mind my speaking plainly about this notion: Nothing could be more mistaken. The Department works continually and devotedly to advance U.S. objectives in dealing with approximately 80 countries, each of which has its own policies and aspirations. And the difficulties of the task are immeasurably increased when misunderstandings of this kind occur at home.

The Department seeks the security and well-being of the whole country, farmers included. It seeks good relations with other countries. Would anyone have it do otherwise? It pursues the Nation's objectives of cooperation and collective security. Could it safely do otherwise?

What I have said so far this morning can be summarized as follows:

We have got to accept the implications of an era of interdependence. One of these implications is that the United States must pursue a trade policy suited to the modern world. We must have a trade program that moves forward, not backward. Our Government cannot work effectively toward our national objectives unless it is equipped with efficient tools. The Trade Agreements Act and the OTC are among the tools that are needed. The question whether or not we have those tools is important to the future of the 170 million people of the United States, including farmers.

Let me conclude with a final point which has particular relevance in the light of recent events.

During the last few years the Communists have been penetrating the underdeveloped regions by means of loans, technical assistance, and a growing trade. The Soviet bloc, both in Europe and Asia, now has about 215 trade and payments agreements with nonbloc countries. More than half of those are with underdeveloped countries.

In its trade drive the bloc has capitalized on the desire of those underdeveloped countries to get bigger foreign markets for their major products and to stabilize their export earnings. The Communists have been willing to take some of these products and have offered in return manufactured goods of the kinds which the underdeveloped countries need.

Another feature of the new Soviet economic diplomacy has been that they have made extensive loans at low rates of interest.

The bloc has also steadily increased its program of technical assistance to underdeveloped countries, including Egypt, Syria, Afghanistan, India, Indonesia, Burma, and Yemen.

The Communists have attempted to gain respectability and influence by playing upon two dominant emotions among the peoples of the less developed areas of the world—nationalism and a desire for higher standards of living.

Recently in San Francisco Vice President Nixon emphasized that we must be prepared for an all-out Communist economic offensive to win the allegiance of hundreds of millions of people. As he put it, "We believe that free men in the long run will outplan and outproduce a slave economy. But we cannot ignore the fact that a dictator state, as recent events prove, can in the short run achieve spectacular results by concentrating its full power in any given direction."⁷

I believe that, if the United States were to check the momentum of its trade agreements program, the Soviet threat in the trade field could become more serious.

This is indeed a challenging time. But with sound policies and with adequate tools to carry them out this country, in partnership with other free peoples, will meet the challenge.

⁷ *Ibid.*, Nov. 4, 1957, p. 704.

International Air Transportation Policy; the Mutual Security Program

by Douglas Dillon

Deputy Under Secretary for Economic Affairs¹

I am delighted to have this opportunity to be with you today to discuss the development of international air transportation and to outline the role of the Department of State in this field.

Here in San Francisco one is particularly aware of the astonishing progress that has been made in recent years to make air travel rapid, reliable, and safe. The cities of the West are now but a few hours from the Atlantic, and a network of air routes extends from your cities to the Orient and on to the Near East and Europe. Moreover, there is also the newly developed Great Circle Route across Canada to Europe. The scope of this network can be appreciated when one realizes that United States airlines now serve 132 cities in foreign countries and that at 27 of these points more than one United States airline is operating. United States airlines fly to every part of the globe, except behind the Iron Curtain, and last year carried on their international routes nearly 4 million passengers on journeys totaling over 5½ billion passenger miles.

It is evident that international air transportation cannot exist unless permission to fly over, and land in, other countries can be obtained and unless the right to exercise normal commercial privileges is guaranteed by the countries involved. It is equally evident that, since international relations and the negotiation of arrangements between governments is the responsibility of the Department of State, the negotiation of air transport agreements has become one of the Department's responsibilities.

Before World War II few countries had airlines capable of serving the United States. Most of them were willing to authorize a United States airline to serve their territory without asking for reciprocal privileges. Consequently, it was usually possible for an American airline to obtain its own permit. Technical developments and the rapid growth of air transportation have changed that situation. Longer-range aircraft and the greater ability of foreign countries to develop international airlines have caused their governments to seek traffic privileges in the United States for their own airlines in return for the privileges granted to our airlines. The value of air transportation to the economic life of a country, particularly as a dollar earner, has encouraged the development of farflung airlines. Many nations feel that "showing the flag abroad" in air service is necessary to their international prestige. Today traffic rights are sought principally through intergovernmental negotiations, and the broad base of our international route system lies in the air transport agreements which we have entered into with 48 countries. These agreements make it possible for our United States airlines to operate over most of the world.

All of these agreements contain clauses requiring consultations at the request of either party after the giving of due notice. All of these agreements also contain cancellation clauses. This is a most important fact not always realized. It means that our United States airlines can retain their present rights only as long as the countries with which we have agreements remain reasonably satisfied that the agreements are fair. Agreements that looked fair 10 years ago, when

¹ Address made before the Western States Council at San Francisco, Calif., on Nov. 9 (press release 621 dated Nov. 7).

few countries could dream of operating their own airlines, may not satisfy countries which today are developing their own international airlines. Because of this situation we are now being faced today with many requests for consultations under the agreements. So far in 1957 consultations on existing agreements have been held with 14 different countries. It is our objective during these consultations to maintain and improve the rights of our United States airlines while granting no more rights to foreign airlines than are necessary or fair in the circumstances.

Responsibilities of Civil Aeronautics Board

While the Department of State is responsible for these negotiations with foreign countries, the position adopted by the United States is reached only after the consideration of many factors and in close collaboration with the Civil Aeronautics Board.

Prior to all negotiations representatives of the Civil Aeronautics Board work closely with representatives of the Department of State in preparing a case. Later they participate in actual negotiations as members of the United States delegation. They can thus contribute directly to the presentation of the United States position, can hear and evaluate the reasoning of the representatives of the other country, and can assist in preparing rebuttal arguments.

As you know, the Civil Aeronautics Board has basic responsibility for regulating United States civil aviation and for promoting the growth and well-being of the United States air transportation system. Subject to the approval of the President it certifies United States airlines to operate internationally and issues the licenses necessary to permit foreign airlines to operate to the United States.

Other Government agencies may be involved when considerations of particular interest to them arise. However, it is the Civil Aeronautics Board which is most widely interested in, and responsible for, the development of a sound and economical United States air transport system.

The Civil Aeronautics Board determines the economic value of routes. It examines the statistics of business already developed at given points or along certain routes and estimates the traffic which may reasonably be anticipated. It

evaluates the importance of traffic rights at various points. The impact of added competition is considered. The Civil Aeronautics Board also gives careful consideration to the air transportation needs of communities throughout the United States. In short, it is the judge of the economic value of the routes under negotiation.

In view of the direct effect which air transport agreements have on the airlines and the competition which they will meet, they are normally invited to assign an observer to work with the United States delegation. This observer, usually from the Air Transport Association, attends the international meetings and participates in conferences of the United States delegation and in other meetings within the United States Government where problems relating to the negotiation are discussed. The Air Transport Association keeps the individual airlines apprised of the progress of the negotiations. They, in turn, frequently meet with the Civil Aeronautics Board and Department of State representatives to present their views or to submit information which may be used in the negotiations.

In conducting a negotiation it is naturally the duty of the Department of State to know the political relationship existing between the United States and the other country, as well as the overall political situation in the region or throughout the world which may be affected by an aviation agreement. In the light of this knowledge the Department must determine how negotiations can be handled most effectively and must remain aware of the effect of these broader political considerations on the narrower field of international aviation. The Department of State assigns to its experienced negotiators the task of obtaining the rights needed for the development of a sound system of international air transportation by United States airlines, bearing in mind that these rights must permit economic service and future growth on routes which serve the interests of our country and which may contribute to the national defense. It is important to remember throughout negotiations that no nation will long remain a party to an agreement which it considers a bad bargain. The international routes flown by our airlines can be maintained and extended only if other countries are satisfied that the principles on which we negotiate will, in turn, permit the satisfaction of their own aviation needs.

Negotiations With Australia

I would like at this point to review the recent negotiations which took place with Australia.² These clearly illustrate the procedures of our Government and reveal some of the issues which are often involved in aviation negotiations.

I will not go into the details of our negotiations but will outline the changes in our agreement which resulted from these talks. Before the negotiations the Australian airline, Qantas, had the right to carry traffic from Australia to the West Coast and on to Canada. The route revision which was negotiated gave Australia the additional right to carry traffic from Australia through the United States to Europe and to pick up traffic in the United States for Europe. The Australians were *not* given the right to carry passengers from one point in the United States to another.

The United States, which already had the right to carry traffic between the United States and Australia, obtained by the amended agreement the right to offer service to two points in Australia through a number of different intermediate points and to continue beyond Australia to Asia, Europe, Africa, and South America.

The Australian case was based on the desire to accommodate through traffic between Australia and Europe via the United States with the right to pick up and carry a reasonable amount of international traffic originating in the United States. The Australian proposal was weighed by the Civil Aeronautics Board, which reviewed the effect of the proposed service on United States airlines operating across the Atlantic and the Pacific and domestically. It conferred with the interested airlines and the Department of State, both prior to the arrival of the Australian delegation and repeatedly during the negotiations.

In a month of negotiations the two delegations arrived at a bargain. This had to be further reviewed by both Governments before the agreement was finally signed 2 months later. The bargain was a fair one. The Australians had shown that enough traffic from Australia to Europe moved on the route via the United States to justify service by the Australian airline. Both domestic and international airlines of the United States would naturally have preferred to see Qantas stop at

the West Coast so that they could carry the Australian traffic across the continent and across the Atlantic. However, a principle vital to the well-being of United States international airlines was involved. In addition to the right to carry traffic originating in the United States through a foreign country and on to other foreign points, United States airlines must have the right to pick up the reasonable amount of fill-up traffic needed to insure the economic health of a long route. Only in this way can our airlines maintain their far-flung routes. The Australian negotiations showed justification for the route through the United States. Refusal to grant it would have set an example damaging to our own international airlines, which need similar rights for their continued well-being.

The thought which I wish to leave with you today is that nations which before the war welcomed service that they could not provide for themselves now have airlines which are competing for traffic. Nations which immediately after the war were limited in equipment and experience have expanded to the point where they are seeking new opportunities in world markets. They are tempted to introduce restrictive measures in order to keep other competing airlines out of markets they consider as legitimately their own. They will maintain liberal policies only if they see that that is the path that leads to growth and opportunity. The United States believes in the value of freedom of opportunity under fair standards. It thinks that under this principle neither new airlines struggling for a fair start nor established airlines need be penalized. It wishes to see this opportunity for its own airlines, and it must give the same opportunity to the airlines of other countries. We are confident that, granted such fair and open competition, our United States international airlines will continue to develop and maintain their fair share of the world's growing air traffic.

Mutual Security Programs

I should now like to speak to you for a moment about another subject of great importance to all of us—that is, the mutual security programs.

These programs are sometimes termed "foreign aid," which is very misleading. The proper name is "mutual security"—and that accurately describes their purpose. They are designed to

² For background, see BULLETIN of Sept. 2, 1957, p. 402.

serve *our* interests by helping to keep *our* country free and at peace. They are absolutely necessary to achieve these goals.

More than once in this century aggressors have forced us to choose between losing our freedom and waging war to defend it. This must not happen again. Another great war would bring incomparably greater destruction than any in the past—destruction of the very freedom that we were fighting to defend.

To prevent this choice from again being forced on us, we must do two things:

One, we must deter direct Communist aggression.

Two, we must participate in the economic growth of the less developed countries so that these countries can fulfill their economic aspirations without resort to totalitarian methods.

That is what our mutual security programs help to do.

The Communist bloc threatening the free world possesses enormous military power. It rules one-third of the human race and has the most modern weapons. We know from tragic experience that the Communists will use this power for armed aggression whenever they believe that this would be successful.

To deter aggression, we must convince the Communists that they could *not* succeed. This means, in the first place, showing them that we would come to their free neighbors' defense if they attacked these countries. To make this clear we have made collective defense pacts with most of the nations that could readily be attacked by Sino-Soviet bloc manpower.

But these defense pacts need to be backed by military power. And these countries are not able, unaided, to maintain adequate national forces. Either we must help them, or do the job ourselves, or leave them exposed.

We do station abroad airpower and some United States troops. But for the greater part we must rely on the countries near to the Russian-Chinese land mass to build up their own armed forces. They can and will do this if we help them. Most of them cannot do it all alone. So we help in two ways—we supply them with tanks, planes, and other weapons. The Congress appropriated nearly \$1.9 billion for such military assistance in fiscal year 1958. Also we give financial support

to help some of these countries to bear the cost of a military establishment which otherwise would be beyond their capacity. For such defense support the Congress appropriated \$725 million last year.

Taken together, these two types of mutual defense assistance enable our allies to mount an increased effort, which multiplies the value of our contribution many times.

Detering the Communist Economic Offensive

It is not enough, however, to deter direct armed aggression. We must also prevent the Communists from expanding by subversion.

They find tempting opportunities to do this, particularly in the new nations of Africa and Asia. These awakening peoples feel that political freedom should mean that they can, in freedom, find ways to throw off their age-old poverty. However, Communist technicians and agitators are being sent to these newly independent countries in increasing numbers, telling them that only communism can give them greater economic well-being. In support of this propaganda, the Communist bloc has launched a major program of economic penetration and is making substantial offers of aid to these countries.

Since 1954 the countries of the Soviet-Chinese Communist bloc have extended credits and grants to underdeveloped countries totaling \$1.5 billion. This takes no account of the very substantial amounts of military and economic assistance provided by the Soviets to their allies. In this category would fall the Soviet assistance to Communist China. The trade balance of Communist countries with the rest of the world has doubled in the last 3 years and totaled \$1.5 billion in 1956. It is important to realize that the Communist trade effort and the credits extended by the Soviet bloc are designed to serve the political purposes of the Kremlin. The Soviet Union and its satellites concentrate their economic offensive against countries whose economic problems increase their willingness to accept Communist offers.

If the Communists succeed in winning over the peoples of the less developed countries, or any substantial number of them, the free world will be gravely weakened—just as certainly as it would be if these countries had been conquered

by Red armies. And the Communists would be encouraged by such victories to ever more dangerous and aggressive measures.

If a disaster of this sort is to be avoided, the peoples of the less developed countries must be able to progress as members of the free world. This progress will depend mostly on their own efforts. But in many cases moderate help from us can spell the difference between success and failure.

The help which these countries need from us is of two types:

First, they need technical assistance—training in such fields as public health and irrigation, transportation, and help in industrial beginnings. We meet this need through our technical cooperation program.

Second, they need to be able to borrow the money to start building essential development projects, such as railroads, dams, and roads.

As these countries' development proceeds, they should increasingly be able to borrow from private investors and the World Bank. We intend to see that this shift takes place as rapidly as possible and that private investors, in particular, are encouraged to assume an increasingly active role.

In the first stages of development, however, some financing from United States governmental funds is required. To provide this financing, the Congress this year established a new instrument, the Development Loan Fund. This fund will make loans to less developed countries for sound projects that cannot be financed from other sources.

The annual sums which we believe the fund will need in order to operate effectively are much smaller than those required for military assistance. They would amount to only about 1 percent of the Government's total budget. None of this is a gift; it is all in the form of loans, although the terms will necessarily be more generous than those offered by existing institutions. I look to the fund to be an increasingly effective weapon in the contest between freedom and international communism in the less developed countries.

To wage this contest effectively, we must also be able to meet special needs and sudden emergencies that cannot be foreseen. We do this out of another mutual security program, so-called special

assistance. The Congress appropriated \$225 million for this for fiscal year 1958.

This mutual security program, made up of funds for the defense of the free world, for economic development, and for special needs, makes a vital contribution to our peace and security.

The world has been made small by the airplane. We here on the Pacific Coast are, as I said earlier, but a few hours away from the rest of the world. Across the Pacific in Asia and on through the Near East and Africa, free countries are, with our assistance, protecting themselves from Communist invasion. Many are faced with serious economic problems and a desperate need for basic capital investment if they are to meet subversion and disorder. We cannot avoid the fact that our destiny is linked with theirs. The mutual security program is our contribution toward a peacefully developing world.

Philippine-American Day

Press release 629 dated November 15

Philippine-American Day was first proclaimed by the late Philippine President, Ramon Magsaysay, in 1954 for the observance of the close friendship that exists between the Philippines and the United States. It has been observed on the 15th of November every year since then. It is a day on which the peoples of both nations recall their long and fruitful association in war and peace. President Carlos P. Garcia, in announcing that the occasion would be observed again this year, stated that it is imperative that Philippine-American friendship be made stronger.

Secretary Dulles has taken this occasion to send the following message to the Acting Secretary of Foreign Affairs, Felixberto M. Serrano:

"DEAR MR. SECRETARY: I welcome the opportunity afforded by this annual observance of Philippine-American Day to reaffirm the strong ties of friendship which unite our two countries. I am confident that this friendship will continue to grow in the years ahead as we work toward the common goal of peace with justice in the world.

"Sincerely yours,

JOHN FOSTER DULLES"

Delivery of Arms to Tunisia

Press release 627 dated November 14

The State Department announced on November 14 that the Government of the United States has decided to deliver to Tunisia, in concert with the Government of the United Kingdom, a shipment of small arms and ammunition for defensive purposes. The United States shipment will consist of 500 M-1 rifles and 50,000 rounds of ammunition and is being purchased by the Government of Tunisia.

This shipment is an initial response to an appeal for assistance in purchasing arms made by President Bourguiba on September 4. It constitutes a recognition that Tunisia, as a free and independent member of the United Nations, has the inherent right and obligation to provide for its internal security and self-defense. The Western countries should provide to Tunisia, which has freely chosen to identify itself with the West, the opportunity to purchase its means of defense from Western sources.

The shipment of arms to Tunisia is covered by the most explicit assurances by the Government of Tunisia as to their defensive use, their safe custody, and their nontransferability.

The Government of the United States regrets that the Government of France has not found it possible to associate itself with the supply of arms to Tunisia, despite the frequent consultations which have taken place on this subject. The United States still believes that the ties of history, culture, and geography which bind France and Tunisia constitute the basis for a close and enduring relationship which can be mutually beneficial in the military, as well as other, fields.

Anniversary of Suppression of Hungarian Revolution

*Statement by Henry Cabot Lodge
U.S. Representative to the United Nations¹*

One year ago today the freedom which the Hungarian people had won for themselves by their bravery was crushed by the Soviet Army.

¹ Made on Nov. 4, the anniversary of the suppression of the Hungarian revolution by Soviet military forces (U.S./U.N. press release 2791).

We remember November 4, 1956, as a black page in history. The Soviet authorities, right up to the moment when their tanks opened fire on the people of Budapest, pretended to be negotiating for the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Hungary. Even the Soviet representative at the United Nations joined in this attempt to deceive the world. Then, suddenly, the trap was sprung and Hungary was dragged back into the shadow of Soviet tyranny.

Yet hope for Hungary is not dead. One lesson which we have all learned from these events is that the love of liberty cannot be extinguished even by years of Soviet repression. Certainly, where the will for freedom is as strong as it has shown itself in Hungary, nothing can suppress it permanently.

We in the free world are united in our desire to find a way by which the Hungarian nation can again enjoy freedom and independence. Through the United Nations we have repeatedly called upon the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the present authorities in Hungary to respect the fundamental rights of the Hungarian people. We shall continue to do so, knowing that the present trials of the Hungarian people will eventually end. To the people of Hungary, therefore, we say today:

Your courage and your love of freedom have earned for you the admiration of all the world. You will never be forgotten.

Proceedings Against Bulgaria in 1955 Plane Case

Following is the text of an application of the United States Government instituting proceedings against the Bulgarian Government in the International Court of Justice.

OCTOBER 28, 1957

SIR:

1. This is a written application, in accordance with the Statute and Rules of the Court, submitted by the Government of the United States of America instituting proceedings against the Government of Bulgaria on account of certain internationally wrongful acts committed on July 27, 1955 by fighter aircraft of the Bulgarian Government within the air space of Bulgaria against American nationals proceeding as passengers in

an international civil Constellation aircraft No. 4X-AKC belonging to El Al Israel Airlines, Ltd.

The subject of the dispute and a succinct statement of the facts and grounds upon which the claim of the Government of the United States of America is based are adequately set forth in an exchange of correspondence between the two governments through the intermediation of the Government of Switzerland, copies of which are attached to this application as annexes. It will be noted that while the Bulgarian Government, upon the occurrence of the incident described, admitted liability to the United States Government for injury to American nationals, and promised to pay the damages incurred and to prevent a recurrence of such incidents in the future as well as to punish the Bulgarian nationals who were responsible for the actions committed, the Bulgarian Government is now disclaiming all liability; it has instead merely proposed to make an arbitrary *ex gratia* per capita payment in Bulgarian currency to families of the American nationals who were killed as a result of the Bulgarian deeds.

2. The United States Government notes that the present dispute concerns matters of the character specified in Article 36 (2) of the Statute of the Court, including subdivisions a through d. As will be seen from the annexes, the legal dispute of the United States Government with the Bulgarian Government involves, among other questions of international law, the scope and application of international obligations relating to the overflight of international civil aircraft; particularly, the duties of the government, and military defense authorities of the government, in whose territory the intrusion is alleged to have taken place, with respect to interception, identification signals between intercepting and intruding civil aircraft and the use of force as against passengers of intruding civil aircraft; together with issues of fact which, if resolved in favor of the United States Government, would prove breaches of international obligation by the Bulgarian Government; and the nature and extent of the reparations to be made by the Bulgarian Government to the United States Government for all these breaches.

The United States Government, in filing this application with the Court, submits to the Court's jurisdiction for the purposes of this case. The

Bulgarian Government accepted the compulsory jurisdiction of this Court by virtue of the signature of its representative to the Protocol of Signature of the Statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice, and this acceptance was completely unconditional; acceptance became effective as to the jurisdiction of the International Court of Justice by virtue of Article 36 (5) of the Statute of the Court upon the date of admission of Bulgaria into the United Nations.

3. The claim of the Government of the United States of America is, briefly, that the Government of Bulgaria on July 27, 1955 wilfully and unlawfully caused fighter military aircraft to fire upon and destroy an El Al Israel Airlines Constellation aircraft No. 4X-AKC. This was accomplished while the aircraft was innocently overflying Bulgarian territory en route from Vienna to Tel Aviv. It had, apparently unbeknown to the crew, been driven slightly off its course, in Yugoslavia, by unpredicted strong local winds at high altitude in sudden turbulent weather and poor visibility. It was fired upon while attempting to return to its course and as it was about to leave Bulgaria. Among the effects of the attack was the killing of all the passengers and crew, including six American nationals, and the destruction of their property on board the aircraft. The American individuals had no part in the navigation or control of the aircraft but were merely passengers who had purchased international flight tickets and the aircraft was flown in accordance with standard international civil aviation procedures. While the United States Government does not deem the point material to the case, it adds that investigation has shown that the crew were not only engaged in innocent flight but were competent and careful.

The United States Government further points out that the Bulgarian Government's admission of liability to the United States Government, which it now has repudiated, was made before its election to membership in the United Nations.

For these breaches of international obligation, the United States Government had demanded and demands monetary and other reparation from the Bulgarian Government; the monetary reparation demanded consists of \$257,875.00.

In further pleadings herein, the United States Government will more fully set forth the issues of fact and the issues of law for the purpose of hearing and decision by the Court in accordance

with the Statute and Rules of the Court. It will request that the Court find that the Bulgarian Government is liable to the United States Government for the damage caused; that the Court award damages in favor of the United States Government against the Bulgarian Government in the sum of \$257,875.00, with interest, and such other reparation and redress as the Court may deem to be fit and proper; and that the Court make all other necessary orders and awards, including an award of costs, to effectuate its determinations.

4. The undersigned has been appointed by the Government of the United States of America as its agent for the purpose of this application and all proceedings thereon.

Very truly yours,

LOFTUS E. BECKER
*The Legal Adviser
of the
Department of State*

Annexes:

1. Aide Memoire from the United States Government to the Bulgarian Government of August 2, 1955.
2. Note from the Bulgarian Government to the United States Government of August 4, 1955.
3. Note from the United States Government to the Bulgarian Government of August 22, 1956.
4. Swiss Communication of Bulgarian Statement to the United States Government of August 8, 1957.
5. Note from the United States Government to the Bulgarian Government of October 11, 1957.

ANNEX 1

Aide Memoire Delivered Through the Swiss Legation to the Bulgarian Government on behalf of the United States on August 2, 1955

"The United States Government protests emphatically against the brutal action of Bulgarian military personnel on July 27, 1955 in firing upon a commercial aircraft of the El Al Israel Airlines, which was lawfully engaged as an international carrier. This attack, which resulted in the destruction of the aircraft and the death of all personnel aboard, including several United States citizens, constitutes a grave violation of accepted principles of international law. The Bulgarian Government has acknowledged responsibility for this action.

"The United States Government demands that the Bulgarian Government (1) take all appropriate measures to prevent a recurrence of incidents of this nature and inform the United States Government concerning these measures; (2) punish all persons responsible for this incident; and (3) provide prompt and adequate compensation to the United States Government for the families of the United States citizens killed in this attack."

ANNEX 2

Note From the Bulgarian Government to the United States Government of August 4, 1955

English Text

MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

No. 42803

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of Bulgaria presents its compliments to the Legation of Switzerland at Sofia and, in reply to its aide-memoire of August 2, 1955 and in compliance with the instructions of its Government, has the honor to request the Legation to be good enough to transmit the following to the Government of the United States of America:

The investigation carried out by the special governmental commission has irrefutably determined the following:

On July 27, 1955 at 7:10 local time the aircraft of the Israeli Airline El-Al entered Bulgarian air space in the area of the town of Trn without any warning. After having penetrated a distance of 40 kilometers, the aircraft overflew the towns of Breznik, Radomir, Stanke Dimitrov, Blagoevgrad, and continued on its course in a southerly direction. It flew over Bulgarian territory for approximately 200 kilometers.

South of the town of Stanke Dimitrov the aircraft was intercepted by two Bulgarian fighter planes which received orders to force it to land at a Bulgarian airport.

The fighter planes warned the aircraft, in accordance with international regulations, to land. In spite of this, it did not obey but continued to fly in a southerly direction in an attempt to escape across the Bulgarian-Greek frontier.

In these circumstances, the two fighter planes of the Bulgarian anti-aircraft defense of this area, astonished by the behavior of the aircraft, opened fire, as a result of which it caught fire shortly thereafter and crashed in the area of the town of Petric.

Adopting the conclusions of the special governmental commission responsible for the investigation of the case, the Bulgarian Government admits that the causes of the unfortunate accident suffered by the El-Al aircraft may be summarized as follows:

1. The aircraft departed from its route, violated the frontier of the Bulgarian State and without any warning penetrated deeply into the interior of Bulgarian air space. Equipped with the most modern aerial navigating instruments, it could not have failed to be aware of the fact that it had violated Bulgarian air space. Even after having been warned, it did not obey but continued to fly towards the south in the direction of the Bulgarian-Greek frontier;

2. The Bulgarian anti-aircraft defense units manifested a certain haste and did not take all the steps required to force the aircraft to obey and to land.

3. The Bulgarian Government likewise considers it necessary to point out the fact that over a period of many years, not respecting the sovereignty of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, certain elements have allowed themselves systematically to violate the Bulgarian frontier. During recent years numerous illegal flights over the

Bulgarian frontier by aircraft of undetermined nationality have been noted in Bulgaria. During these illegal flights, diversionists have been parachuted into Bulgarian territory, equipped with arms, radios and other equipment. The Government of the People's Republic of Bulgaria has protested on several occasions to the Secretariat of the United Nations Organization, but unfortunately without result. All this created an atmosphere of tension which required steps to be taken to safeguard the security of the State. It was in such an atmosphere of tension that the unfortunate accident to the Israeli plane became possible.

The Bulgarian Government and people express once again their profound regret for this great disaster which has caused the death of completely innocent people. The Bulgarian Government ardently desires that such incidents should never happen again. It will cause to be identified and punished those guilty of causing the catastrophe to the Israeli plane and will take all the necessary steps to insure that such catastrophes are not repeated on Bulgarian territory.

The Bulgarian Government sympathizes deeply with the relatives of the victims and is prepared to assume responsibility for compensation due to their families, as well as its share of compensation for material damage incurred.

LEGATION OF SWITZERLAND

Sofia, August 4, 1955.

ANNEX 3

Note Delivered in Sofia Through the Legation of Switzerland to the Bulgarian Government on August 22, 1956

Reference is made to the exchange of communications between the Legation of Switzerland at Sofia on behalf of the Government of the United States and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of Bulgaria concerning the shooting down of the El Al Israel Airlines commercial plane (4X-AKC) by Bulgarian military aircraft on July 27, 1955, which resulted in the destruction of the commercial plane and the death of all personnel aboard, including several United States citizens.

In a note dated August 4, 1955, delivered by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to the Swiss Legation at Sofia, the Bulgarian Government expressed its regret for the incident; gave assurances that it would identify and punish all persons responsible for the shooting down of the commercial plane of El Al Israel Airlines on July 27, 1955, and take all necessary steps to prevent similar occurrences on Bulgarian territory; and assumed responsibility to provide compensation to families of the United States citizens who lost their lives in the disaster.

The Government of the United States notes the expression of regret of the Bulgarian Government, and requests to be informed of the measures taken by the Bulgarian Government to identify and punish those persons responsible for the incident, as well as the measures taken to prevent a recurrence of incidents of this character.

With respect to the matter of compensation for families of United States citizens killed as a consequence of

the incident, the United States Government has found after careful investigation that the pecuniary losses and damages suffered by United States citizens totals \$257,875.00. The total amount of \$257,875.00, which the United States Government is prepared to accept as indemnification for such losses and damages is itemized in the annex to the present note.

The United States Government requests that the claims made herein receive prompt consideration by the Bulgarian Government and that compensation be made at an early date. The United States Government further requests that payment be made in United States dollar exchange in the form of a dollar check to the order of the Secretary of State of the United States.

Enclosure:

Annex.

ANNEX

The total sum of \$257,875.00, representing pecuniary losses and damages suffered by United States citizens in consequence of the incident of July 27, 1955, is calculated as follows:

Claim No. 1

Name of decedent: RACHEL AVRAM

Names of claimants: (1) Mendel Avram, widower

(2) Morrell Avram, son

(3) Liliana Avram, daughter

Pecuniary loss: \$55,000.00

Loss of personal effects: 3,200.00

Total: \$58,200.00

Claim No. 2

Name of decedent: ORA COHEN

Name of claimant: Daniel B. Cohen, Widower

Pecuniary loss: \$25,000.00

Loss of personal effects: 2,475.00

Total: \$27,475.00

Claim No. 3

Name of decedent: ANNA HAHN

Names of claimants: (1) Hugo Hahn, widower

(2) Miriam Cohn, daughter

(3) Hannah Biberstein, daughter

Pecuniary loss: \$30,000.00

Loss of personal effects: -----

Total: \$30,000.00

Claim No. 4

Names of claimants: (1) MARY KATZ

(2) ANNE KATZ

Names of claimants: (1) Paul Katz, widower and father of Anne

(2) Leo Katz, son and brother of Anne

Pecuniary loss: \$45,000.00

Loss of personal effects: 3,000.00

Total: \$48,000.00

Claim No. 5

Name of decedent: AVRAAM M. MANN

Names of claimants: (1) Gitel Korn, sister

(2) Shaindel Hoffman, sister

December 2, 1957

447680-57-4

Pecuniary loss:	\$20,000.00
Loss of personal effects:	-----
Total:	\$20,000.00

Claim No. 6

Names of decedents:	(1) ANNA SACKS (2) RENE SACKS (3) DEBORA SACKS
Names of claimants:	(1) Max Sacks, widower and father of Rene and Debora (2) Naomi Sacks, daughter and sister of Rene and Debora
Pecuniary loss:	\$70,000.00
Loss of personal effects:	3,000.00
Incidental expenses:	1,200.00
Total:	\$74,200.00

ANNEX 4

Swiss Communication of Bulgarian Statement to the United States Government of August 8, 1957

FEDERAL POLITICAL DEPARTMENT

Referring to the notes exchanged concerning the catastrophe of the aircraft of the "El Al Israel Airline", the Federal Political Department has the honor to inform the Embassy of the United States of America that Mr. Luben Anghelov, Second Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs of Bulgaria, has invited the Swiss Chargé d'Affaires at Sofia for an interview to make a statement on this subject.

Mr. Anghelov stated that the Bulgarian Government, as the latter has always repeated, is not responsible for this catastrophe. The responsibility lies with the Israeli company. However, wishing to make a gesture with regard to the families of the victims, the Bulgarian authorities have decided to grant to each of them and to deposit in their favor at the National Bank of Bulgaria the amount of 56,000 levas. This sum would be transferable and convertible in currency. It seems that an identical proposal was submitted to the diplomatic representatives of Austria, Great Britain and Israel.

The Political Department would appreciate learning from the Embassy the position of the American authorities in regard to the statement of Mr. Anghelov.

The Department takes this opportunity to renew to the Embassy the assurance of its high consideration.

To the EMBASSY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,

Bern, August 8, 1957.

ANNEX 5

Note Delivered to the Bulgarian Government Through the Swiss Legation on October 11, 1957

"The United States Government has examined the statement of the Second Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs of

Bulgaria to the Swiss Chargé d'Affaires at Sofia of approximately August 8, 1957 with respect to the position of the Bulgarian Government concerning the payment of damages to the United States Government for the death of American nationals and the loss of their property resulting from the firing of Bulgarian military personnel upon a civil airliner of the El Al Israel Airlines on July 27, 1955. As reported to the United States Government, the Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs stated that the Bulgarian Government is not responsible for the destruction of the airliner and the death of its crew and passengers and other damage; but that the Bulgarian authorities have decided to make an *ex gratia* payment to each of the families of the American victims by transferable Bulgarian currency amounting to 56,000 levas.

"The United States Government rejects this proposal by the Bulgarian Government and repeats the request made for payment of the sum of \$257,875.00 to the United States Government in the notes transmitted by the intermediation of the Swiss Government on August 22, 1956 and February 11, 1957.

"The United States Government must express its astonishment at the reversal of policy and attitude, as well as at the failure of the Bulgarian Government to keep its word solemnly made to the United States Government and to the world at large following the unjustified destruction of the El Al aircraft and the killing of its innocent passengers and crew. While the Bulgarian Government now denies responsibility for the destruction of the aircraft, that has not been its position heretofore.

"On August 3, 1955, the Bulgarian Government announced to the world a version of the facts of the destruction allegedly reached by a special Bulgarian Government commission set up to investigate the incident. It concluded that the 'aircraft defense organs' of the Bulgarian Government did not take the necessary measures to call to the attention of the El Al aircraft that the Bulgarian authorities desired it to land. It stated: 'The Bulgarian Government and the Bulgarian people once more express their deep regret for the misfortune of the innocent victims of the catastrophe.' It said that the Bulgarian Government would identify and punish the persons responsible for the catastrophe and that it sympathized deeply with the relatives of the innocent victims of the catastrophe.

"On August 4, 1955, the Bulgarian Government replied to the same effect to the United States Government's protest of August 2, 1955, delivered through the Federal Political Department of the Swiss Government. It said: 'The Bulgarian anti-aircraft defense units manifested a certain haste and did not take all the steps required to force the aircraft to obey and to land.' It repeated expressions of sorrow, and concluded: 'The Bulgarian Government sympathizes deeply with the relatives of the victims and is prepared to assume responsibility for compensation due to their families as well as its share of compensation for material damage incurred.'

"The Bulgarian Government's special commission findings, as paraphrased by the Bulgarian Government, are indeed, the United States Government finds, an understatement of what actually occurred. The report of the

Commission of Inquiry of the Israel Ministry of Communications and independent investigation conducted by the United States Government have disclosed other facts of which the Bulgarian Government could not be unaware, and which make the shooting by the Bulgarian fighter aircraft in the circumstances a flagrant violation of international law. If permitted to remain an uncondemned precedent, the action of the Bulgarian Government would encourage similar conduct toward innocent passengers and crew and legitimate civil aircraft by the Bulgarian and other governments. It is clear that the El Al aircraft which was shot down had, as a result of being caught in a severe local storm, been blown off its course in circumstances which could occur, particularly, to any aircraft of any international civil airlines lawfully engaged in carrying passengers in innocent international flight. Actually the distance of intrusion—40 kilometers—was insignificant. The account of the intrusion given by the Bulgarian Government itself shows that the pilot of the aircraft sought, after 40 kilometers of intrusion, to regain his original flight course, and had almost left the air space above Bulgaria and reached his original authorized flight course when the Bulgarian fighter planes shot the civil aircraft plane down. Moreover, the weather conditions were such that radio communications were undoubtedly impaired, and they could easily have confused any radio operator or pilot at the altitude and under the cloud and storm conditions in which the El Al aircraft was caught.

"The consequent refusal of the Bulgarian Government to permit the Israel Inquiry Commission to conduct an investigation of the aircraft on the ground or to talk to witnesses on Bulgarian soil compounded the violation of international law and practice. It is doubtful, moreover, that the Bulgarian fighter aircraft either sought to lead or could have led the El Al Constellation to any kind of proper landing field in Bulgaria. At most, if the Bulgarian Government had any complaints about overflight, it should have resorted to the usual international practice of noting and identifying the aircraft and engaging in diplomatic communications with the Israel Government looking toward a non-repetition of the incident if possible.

"There can be no question, therefore, as to the liability of the Bulgarian Government to the United States Government for all personal and material injuries to American nationals in the full amount requested.

"The United States Government also notes that the Bulgarian Government publicly promised the United States Government and other governments that it would not only prevent the repetition of such an incident again but would identify and punish the malefactors. The Bulgarian Government has completely failed, so far as ap-

pears, to take any such action and has, in this respect too, violated its international commitments.

"The United States Government cannot accept, in such a case of clear and admitted violations of international law, any conditions making payment a matter of grace or arbitrarily limited in amount without regard to actual damage inflicted and suffered.

"The United States Government is also concerned with the principles of this matter, in as much as its nationals operate the largest international mileage and number of aircraft in international civil aviation, and large numbers of its nationals use the international civil aviation airlines of other countries. It must assume that every government, whether or not involved in the El Al incident, is concerned with a declaration of the reprehensibility of the conduct of the Bulgarian Government in the El Al case and an assurance that such conduct will never be repeated."

U.S.-Mexican Negotiations on TV Channels

Press release 632 dated November 15

Communication officials of the Mexican Government will meet with communication officials of the U.S. Government for several days beginning November 18, 1957. The purpose of the meeting is to explore the possibility of arriving at a mutually acceptable understanding on the allocation of ultra-high-frequency (UHF) television channels along the U.S.-Mexican border. The meetings are being held in the offices of the Federal Communications Commission. The principal spokesman for the Mexican Government is Carlos Nuñez Arellano, from the Mexican Ministry of Communications and Public Works. The principal spokesman for the United States is Commissioner Rosel H. Hyde of the Federal Communications Commission. Agreement between the United States and Mexico on the allocation of very-high-frequency (VHF) television channels along the U.S.-Mexican border area was reached in 1951¹ and amended in 1952.²

¹ For a summary of the 1951 agreement, see BULLETIN of Nov. 26, 1951, p. 865.

² *Ibid.*, Aug. 18, 1952, p. 267.

INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS AND CONFERENCES

Calendar of International Conferences and Meetings¹

Adjourned During November 1957

IAEA Board of Governors	Vienna	Oct. 4-Nov. 1
GATT Balance-of-Payments Consultations	Geneva	Oct. 7-Nov. 30
GATT Contracting Parties: 12th Session	Geneva	Oct. 17-Nov. 30
South Pacific Commission: 17th Session	Nouméa	Oct. 18-Nov. 6
ILO Governing Body: 137th Session (and Committees)	Geneva	Oct. 21-Nov. 1
U.N. ECE Committee on Development of Trade and East-West Trade Consultations	Geneva	Oct. 21-Nov. 1
ICAO Airworthiness Committee: 1st Meeting	Montreal	Oct. 22-Nov. 6
2d ICAO South American/South Atlantic Regional Air Navigation Meeting	São Paulo	Oct. 22-Nov. 16
3d Ibero-American Congress on Education	Ciudad Trujillo	Oct. 23-Nov. 1
19th International Red Cross Conference	New Delhi	Oct. 28-Nov. 7
International North Pacific Fisheries Commission: Committee on Biology and Research	Vancouver	Oct. 28-Nov. 9
International Union of Official Travel Organizations: Executive Committee	Washington	Nov. 1-2
U.N. Advisory Committee on Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy: 7th Session	New York	Nov. 2 (1 day)
FAO Conference: 9th Session	Rome	Nov. 2-22*
International Union of Official Travel Organizations: 12th General Assembly	Washington	Nov. 3-9
International North Pacific Fisheries Commission: 5th Meeting	Vancouver	Nov. 4-9
U.N. ECAFE Working Party of Senior Geologists on the Preparation of a Regional Geological Map for Asia and the Far East: 3d Meeting	Calcutta	Nov. 4-9
Workshop on the Inter-American Rural Education Center	Rubio, Venezuela	Nov. 4-11
WMO Commission for Bibliography and Publications: 2d Session	Paris	Nov. 5-22
FAO Cocoa Study Group: Statistical Subcommittee	Rome	Nov. 7-8
U.N. ECAFE Industry and Trade Committee: 3d Session of Subcommittee on Minerals Resources Development	Calcutta	Nov. 11-16
U.N. ECE Conference of European Statisticians: Working Group on Statistics of Savings	Geneva	Nov. 11-18
Seminar for Development of Agricultural Credit in Latin America	Panamá	Nov. 11-23
Caribbean Commission: 7th Session of West Indian Conference	Curacao	Nov. 11-23
ICAO Radiotelephony Speech Panel: 1st Meeting	Paris	Nov. 12-26
4th ILO Asian Regional Conference	New Delhi	Nov. 13-26
Inter-American Statistical Institute: 5th Session of Committee on Improvement of National Statistics (COINS)	Washington	Nov. 14-27
U.N. ECE Housing Committee: 15th Session (and Working Parties)	Geneva	Nov. 18-22
FAO Council: 28th Session	Rome	Nov. 23 (1 day)
International Sugar Council: Statistical Committee	London	Nov. 25 (1 day)
U.N. ECE Steel Committee and Working Parties	Geneva	Nov. 25-29
U.N. ECOSOC Technical Assistance Committee	New York	Nov. 25-29*
Caribbean Commission: 25th Meeting	Curacao	Nov. 25-30
Customs Cooperation Council: 11th Session	Brussels	Nov. 25-30
International Sugar Council: Executive Committee	London	Nov. 26 (1 day)
International Sugar Council: 14th Session	London	Nov. 28-30*

¹ Prepared in the Office of International Conferences, Nov. 15, 1957. Asterisks indicate tentative dates. Following is a list of abbreviations: IAEA, International Atomic Energy Agency; GATT, General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade; ILO, International Labor Organization; U. N., United Nations; ECE, Economic Commission for Europe; ICAO, International Civil Aviation Organization; FAO, Food and Agriculture Organization; ECAFE, Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East; WMO, World Meteorological Organization; ECOSOC, Economic and Social Council; UNESCO, United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization; ITU, International Telecommunication Union; CCIT, International Telegraphic Consultative Committee (Comité consultatif international télégraphique); WHO, World Health Organization; ICEM, Intergovernmental Committee for European Migration; PAIGH, Pan American Institute of Geography and History.

Calendar of International Conferences and Meetings—Continued

In Session as of November 30, 1957

U.N. General Assembly: 12th Session	New York	Sept. 17-
GATT Article XXVIII Tariff Negotiations	Geneva	Oct. 1-
9th Pacific Science Congress	Bangkok	Nov. 18-
UNESCO Executive Board: 49th Session	Paris	Nov. 18-
FAO Study Group on Coconut and Coconut Products	Rome	Nov. 25-
ILO Tripartite Meeting on Mines Other Than Coal Mines	Geneva	Nov. 25-
ILO Meeting of Experts on Radiation Protection	Geneva	Nov. 25-

Scheduled December 1, 1957–February 28, 1958

FAO Plant Protection Committee for Southeast Asia and Pacific Region: 2d Meeting.	Peradeniya, Ceylon.	Dec. 2-
ITU International Telegraphic Consultative Committee (CCIT): Substudy Group 2/1—Revision of the Telegraph Regulations.	Geneva.	Dec. 2-
WMO Regional Association III (South America): 2d Session. . .	Caracas.	Dec. 4-
3d U.N. ECAFE Regional Technical Conference on Water Resources Development.	Manila.	Dec. 4-
ILO Committee of Experts on Social Policy in Nonmetropolitan Territories: 6th Session.	Geneva.	Dec. 9-
ILO Meeting of Experts on Workers' Education	Geneva.	Dec. 9-
U.N. ECAFE Inland Transport Committee: 5th Session of Railway Subcommittee.	Bangkok	Dec. 9-
IAEA Board of Governors	Vienna	Dec. 16-
NATO Council: Ministerial Session.	Paris.	Dec. 16-
U.N. ECE Agricultural Problems Committee: 9th Meeting . . .	Geneva.	Dec. 16-
U.N. ECE Coal Committee and Working Parties	Geneva.	Dec. 16-
U.N. Economic and Social Council: 24th Session (Resumed) . . .	New York	December
U.N. ECAFE Seminar on Roadbed Stabilization	New Delhi	December
WHO Standing Committee on Administration and Finance . . .	Geneva.	Jan. 6-
U.N. ECAFE Subcommittee on Electric Power: 6th Session . . .	Bangkok	Jan. 6-
U.N. ECAFE Industry and Natural Resources Committee: 6th Session of Subcommittee on Electric Power.	Bangkok	Jan. 6-
IAEA Board of Governors	Vienna	Jan. 13-
U.N. ECOSOC Subcommittee on the Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities: 10th Session.	New York.	Jan. 13-
Inter-American Travel Congresses: Technical Committee of Experts on Travel Plant.	Washington.	Jan. 13-
UNREF: 7th Session of Executive Committee and 5th Meeting of Standing Program Subcommittee.	Geneva.	Jan. 13*-
WHO Executive Board: 21st Session	Geneva.	Jan. 14-
U.N. ECAFE Committee on Trade: 1st Session	Bangkok	Jan. 20-
4th ICAO European-Mediterranean Regional Air Navigation Meeting: Preliminary Meeting of the Air Traffic Services Committee.	Geneva.	Jan. 21-
WMO Commission for Synoptic Meteorology: 2d Session . . .	New Delhi	Jan. 21-
Inter-American Travel Congresses: Technical Committee of Experts on Tourist Travel Promotion.	México, D. F.	Jan. 21-
4th ICAO European-Mediterranean Regional Air Navigation Meeting.	Geneva	Jan. 28-
ICEM Working Group	Washington.	Feb. 3-
FAO Committee on Commodity Problems: 2d Meeting of Consultative Subcommittee on Rice.	Washington.	Feb. 3-
Inter-American Travel Congresses: Technical Committee of Experts on Removal of Travel Barriers.	Buenos Aires	Feb. 3-
ICAO Map Panel: 1st Meeting	Montreal	Feb. 11-
U. N. ECAFE Inland Transport Committee: 7th Session	Bangkok	Feb. 11-
PAIGH: 8th Pan American Consultation on Cartography	Habana	Feb. 12-
ICAO/WMO Special Joint Meteorological Telecommunications Meeting for Europe.	Geneva	Feb. 24-
U. N. ECAFE Committee on Industry and Natural Resources: 1st Session.	Kuala Lumpur	Feb. 24-
U. N. International Conference on the Law of the Sea	Geneva	Feb. 24-
ILO Governing Body: 138th Session	Geneva	February
PAIGH: 5th Pan American Consultation on Geography	Quito	February*

The Question of Defining Aggression

*Statement by Philip M. Klutznick
U.S. Representative to the General Assembly¹*

The General Assembly, and subsidiary bodies established by it, have been considering the question of defining aggression for a number of years. My delegation has studied with interest and great appreciation the excellent report² of the Special Committee which was set up by the Assembly 3 years ago. The Special Committee and its rapporteur, the distinguished representative of the Netherlands [B. V. A. Röling], are to be particularly commended for their fine presentation.

As we are now embarked on a new debate of this subject matter, it seems in order to suggest that we stand back at a little distance and try to get a good view, in perspective, of the task which confronts us. We are not starting to prepare legal texts in an area of law and international relations where there are no such texts now in existence.

The Charter Background

We are all familiar with the experience of the community of nations with proposals to define aggression. We can only acknowledge with respect and appreciation the work of jurists and experts in the 1930's who devoted much effort to the drafting of a definition. We must, however, recognize that the work of these men antedated the charter of the United Nations. The world is a very different place now from what it was in 1933. We have a new phenomenon in an organization of nations with new powers and responsibilities, one which has demonstrated its capacity to prevent and to stop aggression when

the nations involved are prepared to recognize their commitments under the charter.

In the framing of the charter of the United Nations, the question of whether to produce a verbal text defining the term "aggression" was carefully considered. At the San Francisco conference the deliberate decision of statesmen, in whose minds the tragic events of World War II were poignantly present, was *not* to encumber the new charter with such a definition. The judgment of these men was summarized in the report of Committee III to its parent commission at the San Francisco conference in 1945:

... it . . . became clear to a majority of the Committee that a preliminary definition of aggression went beyond the possibilities of this conference and the purpose of the Charter. The progress of the technique of modern warfare renders very difficult the definition of all cases of aggression. It may be noted that, the list of such cases being necessarily incomplete, the Council would have a tendency to consider of less importance the acts not mentioned therein; these omissions would encourage the aggressor to distort the definition or might delay action by the Council. Furthermore, in the other cases listed, automatic action by the Council might bring about a premature application of enforcement measures.

The Committee therefore decided to adhere to the text drawn up at Dumbarton Oaks and to leave to the Council the entire decision as to what constitutes a threat to peace, a breach of the peace, or an act of aggression.

This clear reasoning is no less, and indeed more, applicable today than when it was presented in 1945. Events—military, political, and economic—have confirmed the wisdom of this conclusion.

In approaching this subject, we have also available for our background the experience of the world community in the 12 years since the United Nations Organization was established. The prac-

¹ Made in Committee VI (Legal) on Oct. 18 (U.S. delegation press release 2768).

² U.N. doc. A/3574.

tical knowledge which this experience affords is of inestimable value in the consideration which the Assembly gives to the problem.

We should ask ourselves, when we are debating this problem, certain questions which should have a substantial bearing on the earnest desires and efforts of many members of the United Nations to develop a definition of aggression. First of all, we must ask whether the United Nations has been handicapped, whether the world has suffered, by the lack of a verbal definition.

Experience of the United Nations

Let us think back to 1950, when Communist armed forces from north Korea invaded the Republic of Korea and when Chinese Communist armies crossed the Yalu River and commenced a massive attack on the United Nations forces in Korea. Was the United Nations handicapped by lack of a definition in meeting these challenging emergencies? In June 1950 the Security Council met within hours of the first reports of the Communist attack in Korea. It adopted a series of resolutions designed to halt and repel the Communist invasion. Forces of United Nations members joined those of the Republic of Korea in defending the independence and integrity of that new state. These operations were conducted under a Unified Command established pursuant to United Nations resolution.

Early in the following year, the General Assembly found the Chinese Communists to have committed aggression by their armed intervention in Korea and subsequently recommended the imposition of economic sanctions against Communist China and north Korea. In 1953, when the Communist aggression had been pushed back, an armistice was finally agreed to by the Communist side in the conflict.

In the opinion of the United States it would not have assisted the United Nations at all, during these critical years when aggression was rampant, to have had a written definition.

The events of late 1956 in the Near East are even fresher in the memory of United Nations members. When conflict broke out through the invasion of Egypt, the United Nations acted swiftly to deal with the crisis. The United States took the lead in efforts to bring about a cease-fire and withdrawal of forces. The General Assembly had the Near East situation under active consideration

for more than 4 months last winter. At the end of that period—much to the credit of the states which had been involved in hostilities and of other nations deeply concerned to restore peace, with justice, and thanks to the tireless and skillful efforts of Secretary-General Hammarskjöld—the objectives of the Assembly's resolutions were largely fulfilled. Thus was brought to an end an armed conflict which gravely menaced world peace.

No definition of aggression was necessary to enable the General Assembly to cope effectively with these emergencies.

Application of the Soviet Definition

We should ask ourselves another question: In situations where a definition of aggression had been agreed upon and was applicable, what does the record show?

In 1933 the Soviet delegation at the Geneva disarmament conference submitted to the General Commission of the conference a proposal for a definition of aggression which, with certain variations, was basically the same as the Soviet definition now before us [U. N. doc. A/C.6/L.399]. This proposal was referred to a conference committee on security questions which proceeded to draw up an act embodying a definition of aggression on the same general lines as the present Soviet definition. This act was subsequently considered by the General Commission, but, owing to differences of opinion, no final conclusion was reached.

However, the definition was embodied in a number of individual treaties. In particular it was embodied almost word for word in a Convention for the Definition of Aggression between the Soviet Union and Lithuania signed in London on July 5, 1933, and in a general convention for the same purpose also signed in London 2 days before, open to all states bordering on the Soviet Union. To this last convention the following states became parties: Afghanistan, Iran, Turkey, Estonia, Latvia, Finland, Poland, Rumania, and the Soviet Union. Now, as to these nine states which, under the two treaties, agreed on a definition of aggression with the Soviet Union, what do we find? Only three of the nine are even left today with the territories which they had 25 years ago. The others have been either swallowed up entirely or partitioned by the U.S.S.R.

This analysis has been made before. It remains pertinent and should be pondered carefully by states contemplating a definition of aggression as a measure to strengthen their security.

Before we leave the matter of how a definition of aggression is applied in practice by its sponsor, we must look at the recent and tragic history of developments in Hungary. Only a few days before the present session began the General Assembly, at its 11th session, adopted a resolution³ which included the following findings, based on conclusions reached by the Special Committee on Hungary after that Committee's examination of all available evidence:

(a) The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, in violation of the charter of the United Nations, has deprived Hungary of its liberty and political independence and the Hungarian people of the exercise of their fundamental human rights;

(b) The present Hungarian régime has been imposed on the Hungarian people by the armed intervention of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics;

(c) The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics has carried out mass deportations of Hungarian citizens to the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics; . . .

How do these acts measure up against provisions contained in the draft resolution which has been circulated in document L.399 of this Committee?

That draft resolution would brand as aggression "invasion by . . . armed forces, even without a declaration of war, of the territory of another State"; also: "The landing or leading of . . . land, sea or air forces inside the boundaries of another State without the permission of the Government of the latter, or the violation of the conditions of such permission, particularly as regards the length of their stay or the extent of the area in which they may stay."

Another provision of this same draft resolution brands as an aggressor that state which "promotes the fomenting of civil war within another State" or "promotes an internal upheaval in another State or a change of policy in favour of the aggressor."

Paragraph 6 of the draft resolution contained in document L.399 states:

The attacks referred to in paragraph 1 and the acts of economic, ideological and indirect aggression referred to in paragraphs 2, 3 and 4 may not be justified by any considerations of a political, strategic or economic nature. . . .

³ For text, see BULLETIN of Sept. 30, 1957, p. 524.

In particular, the following may not be used as justification:

The internal situation of any State, as for example: . . .

(d) Any revolutionary or counter-revolutionary movement, civil war, disorders or strikes;

(e) Establishment or maintenance in any State of any political, economic or social system.

We have seen with sorrow that the provisions of this draft definition of aggression did not protect Hungary from aggression by the proponent of the definition.

Effect of a Definition on Charter Obligations

Let us consider now what it is that we would be defining if we made a definition of aggression. We would be defining a term employed in the charter of the United Nations. Let us look again at the familiar language of the charter.

There is article 39, which reads:

The Security Council shall determine the existence of any threat to the peace, breach of the peace, or act of aggression and shall make recommendations, or decide what measures shall be taken in accordance with Articles 41 and 42, to maintain or restore international peace and security.

There is article 51. It provides:

Nothing in the present Charter shall impair the inherent right of individual or collective self-defense if an armed attack occurs against a Member of the United Nations, until the Security Council has taken the measures necessary to maintain international peace and security. Measures taken by Members in the exercise of this right of self-defense shall be immediately reported to the Security Council and shall not in any way affect the authority and responsibility of the Security Council under the present Charter to take at any time such action as it deems necessary in order to maintain or restore international peace and security.

We must remain mindful also of the General Assembly's powers under articles 10, 11, and 14 of the charter and of the procedures which the Assembly has established in the resolution "Uniting for Peace,"⁴ in order to deal with emergency situations.

The obligations of article 2, paragraphs 3 and 4, are fundamental. These read:

All Members shall settle their international disputes by peaceful means in such a manner that international peace and security, and justice, are not endangered.

All Members shall refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the terri-

⁴ For text, see *ibid.*, Nov. 20, 1950, p. 823.

torial integrity or political independence of any state, or in any other manner inconsistent with the Purposes of the United Nations.

Here are solemn obligations, couched in plain and sweeping terms and accompanied by the provision of machinery to take care of the practical application of these obligations. What would be the effect of defining the term "aggression" or "armed attack"? It would only be to qualify, condition, limit, and diminish the clarity and force of existing charter obligations.

The simple obligation is the strongest. It is strengthened by the existence of machinery to deal with claimed violations. It would be weakened by verbal refinement leading to jurisdictional debate. Institutions act most quickly, decisively, and effectively when they are not hampered by the requirement of engaging in a battle of words and definitions.

We must view these elements of language to prescribe conduct, and machinery to act and enforce, as inseparable. To refine, or "to concretize," the language, in such a manner as to weaken the machinery for action, is not a gain. It is our considered opinion that such a step would result in a net loss to the underlying aim of all this debate, namely, to reduce the hazard of aggression.

The charter of the United Nations is not a perfect instrument. It is the product of many interests and reflects compromises among them. With full knowledge of this, we nevertheless firmly believe that the language of the charter and the machinery it has created can only suffer from the adoption of any definition of aggression. In the light of experience, it would be a retrogressive step to adopt a definition of aggression. We base our stand on the merits rather than on the difficulties of framing a definition.

The United States would suggest that the real problems of international security today do not arise from any lack of refinement or elaboration in the charter provisions. The real question is the readiness of member states to fulfill in good faith the solemn and clear obligations which all of us have already undertaken in the charter.

Definition of Aggression Is No Panacea

We heard with interest the analysis of the world situation given in this Committee the other day by Mr. Kuznetsov, the distinguished representative of the Soviet Union. The Soviet delegate in

his speech labored with the mountainous problems of world peace, the keenness of peoples' fears of the possibilities of new and destructive wars, the search for a modicum of security in a world filled with terrible weapons of annihilation. We are unable to see that a definition of aggression can be considered an important or serious means of staying the potential havoc implicit in his analysis of the world situation.

The United States is not able to view the present situation with any complacency. We see in it many portents of harm. My Government deplores the arms race. We want to see the world's resources devoted to man's life and not to his destruction. We hope for international scientific cooperation to conquer the common problems of the world.

It has been with these thoughts in mind that the United States has worked constantly for a disarmament agreement. A little over a month ago we presented, along with three other members of the Disarmament Subcommittee meeting in London, new proposals for a disarmament agreement.⁵ We have yet to hear a considered answer from the Soviet Union concerning these proposals.

Against all this background, can we believe that a *definition of aggression* would make a significant contribution to world peace? In this area, as in so many others, the task of learning and teaching and defining is subordinate to doing. Deeds, not resolutions and definitions, are the answer to the problems now confronting the world. With all deference to the various proposals for definition that have been suggested at different times, we are compelled to conclude that none adds one iota to the spirit and the power of the charter. In some instances these proposals seem only to repeat and reiterate with different words and different language. In others, the proposals complicate and confuse.

Conclusion

I should like to sum up the views of the United States:

Defining aggression is not an answer to the problems of today.

The United Nations has never suffered, in any situation confronting it, from the lack of a definition.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Sept. 16, 1957, p. 451.

Resolution on Defining Aggression¹

U. N. doc. A/C.6/L. 403/Rev. 1

The General Assembly,

Recalling its resolutions 599 (VI) of 31 January 1952, 688 (VII) of 20 December 1952 and 895 (IX) of 4 December 1954, all referring to a definition of aggression,

Considering that in spite of the progress made in the study of the question, the discussion at the present session shows the need for the elucidation of other aspects of the definition of aggression,

Considering that the report presented by the Special Committee on the Question of Defining Aggression (A/3574) is an important study based on the views expressed by States Members of the United Nations up to the date of the report's preparation,

Considering that since then twenty-two additional States have joined the Organization and that it would be useful to know their views on the matter,

Resolves

1. To take note of the report of the Special Committee on the Question of Defining Aggression and to express appreciation for the valuable work done;

2. To ask the Secretary-General to request the views of the new States Members on the question and to renew the request to States Members to submit comments as provided in resolution 688 (VII) of 20 December 1952, furnishing them with the documentation produced after the adoption of that resolution;

3. To ask the Secretary-General to refer the replies of the Members to a committee composed of the Member States the representatives of which have served on the General Committee of the most recent regular session of the General Assembly, which committee shall study the replies for the purpose of determining when it shall be appropriate for the General Assembly to consider again the question of defining aggression and shall report to the Secretary-General when it has determined that the time is appropriate, setting forth the considerations which led to its decision;

4. To request the Secretary-General to place the question of defining aggression on the provisional agenda of the General Assembly, not earlier than its fourteenth session, when the committee has advised him that it considers the time appropriate;

5. To request the Secretary-General to convene the first meeting of the committee prior to the fourteenth session of the General Assembly.

¹ Sponsored by Chile, Colombia, Cuba, Ecuador, El Salvador, Philippines, and Venezuela, and incorporating the amendments submitted by the United States (U.N. doc. A/C.6/L.407); recommended by Committee VI on Nov. 20 by a vote of 41 to 21 with 11 abstentions.

If a definition were adopted, it might foster some sense of security but that sense of security would be false. The conduct of a major power, which has long espoused a particular definition, must make us realize that any definition is quite useless in the face of determined government policy.

The adoption of a definition of aggression would impair and diminish the valuable obligations of the charter.

What should the General Assembly do at the present stage of its consideration of the problem of defining aggression? A number of states have at different times embraced the idea that a definition of aggression is both desirable and possible. We have deep respect for the view of many countries which have hoped in this way to contribute to peace and make a better world. But the efforts to prepare an actual definition have not borne fruit—an outcome which inevitably casts some doubt on the possibility of preparing a satisfactory definition.

In consequence, the subject of defining aggression has been debated repeatedly and has been referred back and forth between a series of United Nations bodies. We should not judge the effort to have been wasted. Indeed, it has been educational. The report of the most recent Special Committee has added to the knowledge of this whole problem. It illustrates the difficulties.

Some discouragement has been voiced at different times over the lack of progress in producing a definition. We would suggest that there is progress when it is realized that a given line of endeavor is unprofitable and ought to be discontinued. I believe we are at this point in consideration of the matter of defining aggression.

There are some who fear to shelve this subject out of concern that others might seek to secure propaganda advantages from such a forthright step. This might come to pass, though it would be regrettable. But the possibility should not deter us from halting what is apt to deteriorate into a wasteful exercise. To continue it will not solve problems and may exacerbate them.

Therefore, let us decide now to put aside this project.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Report on Economic Conditions in Non-Self-Governing Territories

*Statement by Irene Dunne
U.S. Representative to the General Assembly¹*

It is always with quickened interest that my delegation turns to the consideration of non-self-governing territories. Because of our own history, the American people will always have a special place in their hearts for the peoples of these areas, and we watch their progress toward the goals set forth in the charter with the particular pleasure that comes from past knowledge of the road being traveled.

In this connection, I wish to refer to the eloquence with which my distinguished colleague from Panama [George Westerman] spoke last week of the inter-American regional system and specifically of the good-neighbor policy. I do not need to assure him that the United States is fully committed to a policy of cooperation between all of the 21 American Republics. The ideals so ably put forward by the great Simón Bolívar are today being translated into action, and they will continue to guide us in the future.

The advances of recent years in non-self-governing territories all over the world have indeed been striking. The presence among us of representatives of Ghana and Malaya, who have already been welcomed by many of us, is dramatic evidence that we are not standing still. These evidences of peaceful progress, and the many others which are perhaps less dramatic but nevertheless obvious for all who look objectively to see, are a tribute alike to the vision of the administering members, who have not only permitted but encouraged such progress, but also to the peoples of the many territories and former territories which are so rapidly producing leaders capable of making the goals of the charter a reality.

I have said that not all progress toward the goals of the charter is as dramatic as the emergence of a newly independent state. This does not mean that such progress is not important. We must bear in mind that chapter XI calls not only for the political advancement but equally for economic, social, and educational advancement of the peoples of non-self-governing territories.

¹ Made in Committee IV (Trusteeship) on Oct. 21 (U.S. delegation press release 2779) during debate on information from non-self-governing territories.

Economic Advances Reported

This year the Committee on Information devoted itself particularly to the field of economic advancement in the territories, and we have before us in its regular report an account of its deliberations as well as a special report on economic conditions.²

My delegation would like to observe that this year's session of that Committee seemed to us to have been marked, on the whole, by a spirit of harmony and fruitful cooperation. We attribute much of this spirit to the moderation, skill, and courtesy of the Committee's chairman, Mr. Vixseboxse of the Netherlands, and to the same qualities in the chairman of the Subcommittee on Economic Conditions, Mr. Jaipal of India; in addition to the example set by these colleagues was the mutual understanding and constructive approach displayed by the other members of the Committee.

My delegation believes that the special report on economic conditions is a useful and valuable document and that, particularly when read in conjunction with the past two special reports on economic conditions of the Committee on Information, it contains many encouraging elements. I would cite particularly paragraphs 14 through 18 of the special report and paragraphs 29 through 31. The latter reference seems particularly important to my delegation because these paragraphs deal with the very significant programs of capital investment which the governments of our British and French colleagues are applying in their territories. The high degree of economic development attained in the Belgian Congo is well known to all of us. We believe that the administering governments are to be congratulated in these cases on the scale of their efforts in the vital area of capital investment. In addition to our considerable programs of investment in our own territories, my Government is assisting in the development of the territories in Africa and in other parts of the world through the International Cooperation Administration, particularly in the field of technical assistance.

We would point out, too, that the plans which are being worked out for new multilateral organizations in the economic field, particularly for the African territories, include arrangements for increased capital investment in these territories.

² U.N. doc. A/3647.

To return to the special report of the Committee on Information, believing it to be on the whole a well-balanced and useful document, my delegation will favor its adoption by this Committee and by the General Assembly.³

I will not dwell at this time on progress in the social or educational fields since each will be given special consideration in future sessions of the Committee on Information, but it is important for us to bear in mind that progress in all of these fields is bound up inseparably together.

Obligations of Member States

Turning to the question of the obligations of member states under chapter XI of the charter, I believe that the point of view of my Government is well known to the members of this Committee.

The United States delegation at San Francisco in 1945 played a leading role in formulating chapter XI of the charter, and we have cooperated ever since in implementing its provisions. We believe that this chapter is an important part of the charter and that to ignore it would be to weaken the whole structure of the charter. From the beginning my Government has chosen to interpret liberally the obligations of chapter XI. We have acted on the belief that the pooling of knowledge, ideas, and experience through reporting on dependent territories and through constructive participation in committee debate can result in very real gains to the metropolitan authorities concerned with administration and through them to the peoples of the non-self-governing territories.

From the beginning of the United Nations it was recognized that the General Assembly was entitled to discuss and express itself on the meaning and application of chapter XI. At the same time, it was left to each member to decide what specific responsibilities it had assumed and what specific actions it should take with respect to the territories which it administers.

It seems clear to my delegation that each member of the United Nations must decide which territories, if any, it will report on to the United Nations under article 73 (e). It is at times tempting to criticize members for alleged failure to report

on certain areas. We believe that this temptation must be resisted. The great strength of the United Nations lies, we believe, in setting examples of action which will lead all members to see the advantage of voluntary and wholehearted compliance with the provisions of the charter.

I will deal very briefly with the two remaining topics listed under this item. The United States will support draft resolution B contained in annex II of the report of the Committee on Information. My Government participates in the exchange of scholarships for inhabitants from non-self-governing territories and will be happy to cooperate with this resolution which has the aim of making the exchange program work more smoothly.⁴

Concerning the new method of reproducing summaries of information, my delegation believes that it would be wise for the Assembly to suspend final judgment for one more year. While there has been some criticism of this year's results, any new procedure requires time to be perfected and my delegation believes that we will be in a better position to judge the merits of the new printing system after another year's trial.

Mr. Chairman, I have touched upon each of the subjects to be dealt with by this Committee under the item on non-self-governing territories. My delegation, of course, reserves the right to speak again on any of these items individually and on any draft resolution which may come before us for consideration.

It is the hope of my delegation that the debate on non-self-governing territories in this Committee will be marked by a spirit of constructive cooperation. The entire mechanism of the United Nations for dealing with information from the non-self-governing territories depends, of course, for its very functioning upon the willing cooperation of those members who administer those territories as well as these who do not. We believe that progress in the territories generally is being achieved at a remarkable rate. Let us do what we can in this Committee by maintaining a spirit of mutual cooperation and understanding to assure that this progress continues at a rapid but steady pace.

³ On Oct. 24 the Committee unanimously adopted a resolution recommending approval of the report on economic conditions.

⁴ On Oct. 31 the Committee adopted a resolution (U.N. doc. A/C.4/L.503) designed to speed up the consideration of applications for the scholarships offered by member states.

International Cooperation in Radio Research

**TWELFTH GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE INTERNATIONAL SCIENTIFIC RADIO UNION
BOULDER, COLO., AUGUST 22-SEPTEMBER 5, 1957**

by H. W. Wells

Satellites and other subjects of absorbing interest in the field of radio astronomy highlighted the 12th General Assembly of the International Scientific Radio Union (URSI), which was held at Boulder, Colo., August 22 to September 5, 1957. Many of the men responsible for startling discoveries in this field were present and participated in plans for pushing the bounds of the known universe further out. A full day was devoted to a discussion of the International Geophysical Year.

In honor of the part played by the URSI [Union radio scientifique internationale] in initiating the plan to have this Geophysical Year, the cosmos itself saluted the General Assembly with three ionospheric storms, requiring the declaration of a Special World Interval for concentrated worldwide observations. Leaving the closing banquet, the delegates saw in the heavens a brilliant aurora, something exceedingly rare at Boulder.

Local host organizations were the University of Colorado, the Boulder Laboratory of the National Bureau of Standards, the High Altitude Laboratory, and the city of Boulder.

The official hosts were the National Academy of Sciences-National Research Council and the U.S. National Committee of the International Scientific Radio Union. Dr. Detlev W. Bronk, president of the National Academy of Sciences-National Research Council gave the address of welcome at the formal opening session, and Dr. P. Lejay of France, president of URSI, responded.

About 850 people were in attendance. Of these, 300 delegates and family members were from outside the United States, 300 were U.S.

delegates and observers, and 250 U.S. family members. The participants were from the following 20 member countries: Australia, Belgium, Canada, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Great Britain, India, Italy, Japan, Morocco, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, and the United States. The member countries not represented were Poland, Portugal, the Union of South Africa, and Yugoslavia. Austria, Greece, and the U.S.S.R. were formally admitted to the URSI at this Assembly, and both Austria and the U.S.S.R. had representatives there. There were two observers from Argentina.

The official U.S. delegation, appointed by the Department of State, consisted of H. W. Wells, *chairman*, Carnegie Institution of Washington, William E. Gordon, Cornell University, John P. Hagen, Naval Research Laboratory, M. G. Morgan, Dartmouth College, and A. H. Waynick, Pennsylvania State University.

The General Assembly provided the specialists present from all over the world the opportunity to discuss latest developments with one another at

• *Mr. Wells, author of the above article, is chairman of the Upper Atmospheric Section of the Department of Terrestrial Magnetism at the Carnegie Institution of Washington. He is chairman of the U.S. National Committee of the International Scientific Radio Union (URSI) and served as chairman of the U.S. delegation to the 12th General Assembly of URSI.*

a time of rapid growth and almost explosive progress in radio research. The new sense of personal acquaintance, acquired in an environment of peace and beauty, will have a lasting effect in the future collaboration of the members of URSI. The entire conference was pervaded with a remarkable spirit of solidarity and satisfaction. In addition to the scientific success of the meeting, the interests of international good will were substantially advanced.

While in Boulder, participants visited the Cryogenic Engineering Laboratory and the Central Radio Propagation Laboratory of the National Bureau of Standards, and also the installations at Climax, Echo Lake, Cheyenne Mountain, Gun Barrel Hill, and Table Mesa.

Sir Edward Appleton, Nobel Prize winner and chairman of the URSI Committee for the International Geophysical Year, presided at the meeting devoted to the IGY. New plans to intensify the worldwide radio and ionospheric work during the IGY were perfected. Special attention was given to the Ursigrams, the coded messages of cosmic data disseminated by radio and wire systems throughout the world.

Summaries of the technical discussions, lists of papers presented, etc., and the administrative record will be published in a set of eight pamphlets by the Secretary General in Brussels, Belgium. The U.S. delegation will prepare a detailed report of the results of the meeting for the National Academy of Sciences-National Research Council. In addition, arrangements are being made for publication of some technical results in the *Proceedings of the Institute of Radio Engineers*.

General Assemblies of URSI are held every 3 years. The only previous meeting in the United States was in 1927. The 13th General Assembly will be held in Great Britain in 1960.

International Officers

The international officers, including those newly elected, are:

Honorary Presidents: Sir Edward V. Appleton (Great Britain), R. Bureau (France), J. Howard Dellinger (United States), W. H. Eccles (Great Britain), E. H. Rayner (Great Britain), B. van der Pol (Netherlands)
President: L. V. Berkner (United States)
Vice Presidents: I. Koga (Japan), R. L. Smith-Rose (Great Britain), G. A. Wootton (Canada)
Treasurer: C. H. Manneback (Belgium)
Secretary General: Col. E. Herbays (Belgium)

International Commission Chairmen

International Commission chairmen reelected are:

Commission I, B. Decaux (France)
Commission II, R. L. Smith-Rose (Great Britain)
Commission III, D. F. Martyn (Australia)
Commission VI, S. Silver (United States)

New chairmen of the other Commissions are:

Commission IV, Robert A. Helliwell, Electronics Research Laboratory, Stanford University (United States)
Commission V, A. C. B. Lovell, Jodrell Bank Experimental Station (Great Britain)
Commission VII, W. G. Shepherd, Department of Electrical Engineering, University of Minnesota (United States)

U.S. National Committee

The officers of the U.S. National Committee of URSI are:

Chairman, H. W. Wells
Vice Chairman, William E. Gordon
Secretary-Treasurer, John P. Hagen

General Arrangements Committee

The General Assembly was managed by a general arrangements committee, as follows:

Chairman: J. Howard Dellinger, honorary president, URSI
Finance: L. V. Berkner, president, Associated Universities, Inc.
Local Arrangements: K. A. Norton and A. H. Shapley, Boulder Laboratories, National Bureau of Standards
Foreign Arrangements: William E. Gordon, Cornell University, and H. W. Wells, Carnegie Institution of Washington
Technical Program: A. H. Waynick, Pennsylvania State University, and F. H. Dickson, U.S. Army Signal Corps
Ladies Program: Mrs. K. A. Norton, Boulder, Colo.
Honorary: W. W. Atwood, Jr., National Academy of Sciences; F. W. Brown, director, Boulder Laboratories, National Bureau of Standards; and Quigg Newton, president, University of Colorado

Symposiums

The primary goal of the Union was substantially advanced by the symposiums held by the seven scientific Commissions under the leadership noted:

I. Radio Measurement Methods and Standards. *Chairman,* B. Decaux (France); *U.S. Chairman,* Ernst Weber
 II. Tropospheric Radio Propagation. *Chairman,* R. L. Smith-Rose (Great Britain); *U.S. Chairman,* J. B. Smyth

- III. Ionospheric Radio Propagation. *Chairman, D. F. Martyn (Australia); U.S. Chairman, M. G. Morgan*
- IV. Radio Noise of Terrestrial Origin. *Chairman, J. A. Ratcliffe (Great Britain); U.S. Chairman, A. W. Sullivan*
- V. Radio Astronomy. *Chairman, M. Laffineur (France); U.S. Chairman, F. T. Haddock*
- VI. Radio Waves and Circuits. *Chairman, S. Silver (United States); U.S. Chairmen, J. B. Wiesner and E. C. Jordan*
- VII. Radio Electronics. *Chairman, G. A. Woonton (Canada); U.S. Chairman, W. G. Shepherd*

Program

The scope of the technical papers presented and discussions is indicated by the program of sessions.

Commission I

- Frequency
- Power
- Field intensity
- Miscellaneous measurements and standards

Commission II

- Tropospheric propagation within the horizon
 1. Irregular terrain and mixed path transmission at VHF and above
 2. Effect of troposphere on propagation
- Tropospheric propagation beyond the horizon
 1. Obstacle-gain phenomena
 2. Refraction effects
 3. Reflection at tropospheric discontinuities
 4. Scattering in troposphere

Radio and meteorology

1. Meteorological factors in tropospheric propagation; including radio refractometer investigations
2. Application of radio to meteorology; including problems in cloud and precipitation physics

Propagation by scattering (joint session with Commission III)

C.C.I.R. [Comité consultatif international des radio communications] matters

General review of progress, resolutions, etc.

Commission III

- Phenomena of the lower ionosphere
- Geomagnetic influences in the ionosphere
- Scattering from the ionosphere
- Movements in the ionosphere
- World-wide ionospheric storms and disturbances
- Whistlers and the dawn chorus
- Rocket measurements in the ionosphere (joint session with Commission IV)

Commission IV

- Wave forms of atmospherics and their use in investigating wave propagation phenomena
- Characteristics of terrestrial radio noise, measurement and description

- Relation between characteristics of source and wave forms of atmosphere
- Whistlers, VLF hiss, and dawn chorus (Commission IV session and joint session with Commission III)
- International Geophysical Year

Commission V

- Large antenna systems, and problems of resolving power
- Receiving technique, especially radiometers and 1420 Mc/s receivers, interferometers, etc.; high stability; absolute measurement of flux density
- Propagation and whistlers, scintillation, echo fluctuation, etc. (possibly joint session with Commissions III and IV)
- The sun
- Radio stars (spectra, dimensions, structure, distribution, red shift at 1420 Mc/s); the galaxy (1420 Mc/s studies, other frequencies, H II regions); theories of the radiation
- The planets and the moon (thermal and nonthermal radiation)
- Measurement problems, frequency protection, etc.

Commission VI

- Communication and information theory
- Circuit theory
- Electromagnetic theory, antennas and waveguides
- Tropospheric wave propagation theory (possible joint session with Commission II)
- Wave theory problems of radio astronomy (possible joint session with Commission V)

Commission VII

- The physics of the cathode
- The physics of semiconducting devices
- The source and nature of noise in electron beams
- Oscillation phenomena in gas discharges
- Masers

Colombo Plan Nations Report on Economic Progress

Following is the text of a communique issued on October 24 at Saigon, Viet-Nam, by the Consultative Committee on Cooperative Economic Development in South and Southeast Asia at the conclusion of its ninth meeting, together with an attachment to the communique, which is the text of chapter II of the Committee's annual report for 1957.

COMMUNIQUE OF OCTOBER 24

1. The Ninth Meeting of the Consultative Committee, representing the member countries of the Colombo Plan for Co-operative Economic Devel-

opment in South and South-East Asia, was held in Saigon from the 21 to 24 October 1957.¹ The Sixth Annual Report of the Consultative Committee was approved by Ministers, and will be published in member countries' capitals on or after 3 December.

2. The annual meetings of the Colombo Plan Consultative Committee provide a welcome occasion for the exchange of experience, both between the Governments of the countries in the Colombo Plan area itself and between them and other member Governments of the Colombo Plan. Ministers and Officials concerned with the economic development of the countries of South and South-East Asia are able to study how problems similar to their own are being handled in other countries and thus profit from the practical experience of others. At the same time, the representatives of member Governments from outside the Colombo Plan area learn at first hand of the problems arising in the countries of the area and are thus better able to see in which particular ways the help they are able to extend to these countries can most advantageously be directed. This co-operative discussion of economic policy between Governments of many countries, from different parts of the world, but all sharing a common interest in the economic development of the countries of South and South-East Asia, is conducted on a frank and informal basis which adds greatly to its value. It provides a good example of the co-operation and growing understanding between nations which, amongst other things, it is the purpose of the Colombo Plan to promote.

3. The work of preparing the Annual Report of the Consultative Committee is itself of particular interest in this connection. This Report, based on material provided by all member Governments, is drafted by officials of those Governments meeting immediately before the Consultative Committee. They work in a large number of small internationally composed groups, each dealing with a particular section, and the Report is finally agreed between Ministers representing the eighteen member Governments of the Colombo Plan. This process is of value in crystallizing in the minds of those engaged in development work for their own

countries the nature of the problems which they may expect to have to deal with, and is illustrative of the international co-operative effort in progress under the Colombo Plan.

4. During the year the growth of per capita real income in the region appears to have been maintained, and there was further progress in economic development. However, the period has also seen the emergence of certain problems including balance of payments difficulties, an expansion of the money supply in most countries, and an increase in internal inflationary pressures.

5. Although agricultural production, and industrial and mining output as well, showed in general an upward trend, the value of exports failed to keep pace with the expansion of imports. Important contributing factors were the need for increased expenditure on imports for developmental purposes and domestic monetary expansion. As a result of fluctuations in export prices, and of higher prices of imports, the terms of trade deteriorated for many countries in the region. One of the consequences of the foregoing trends was the emergence of sizeable trade deficits in most of the countries.

6. In agricultural production there was a considerable increase in the output of foodgrains over the preceding year, but this was offset to some extent by a lower output of rubber and of tea. In mining there was a substantial increase in production, particularly of petroleum and iron ores. Industrial output increased considerably, more particularly in industries producing capital goods.

7. Most countries of the region are giving a high priority to expenditure on agriculture and irrigation, and to the production of basic services such as power, transport and communications. At the same time there is a general recognition of the need for the provision of social services, particularly in the fields of health and education. It appears that practically all the countries in the region have increased expenditure on development in the public sector.

8. Private investment continues to be of major importance in the economic growth of the region. It is being encouraged by member Governments through the provision of credit and marketing arrangements, by making available facilities such as buildings, power and technical advice, and also through tax concessions, direct financial assistance, protective tariffs and other measures.

¹ For text of an address made at Saigon on Oct. 22 by G. Frederick Reinhardt, Counselor of the Department of State and U.S. representative to the ministerial meeting, see BULLETIN of Nov. 11, 1957, p. 755.

9. Foreign private investment has been encouraged, particularly in fields where such investment is likely to be of benefit to economic development. Special treatment has been accorded to foreign investment in certain fields such as the provision of facilities for repatriation of capital and for remittance of current earnings. There have been many instances of fruitful collaboration between foreign and domestic private capital and also between foreign capital and the Government of a country.

10. External economic assistance continues to play an important role in supplementing the resources available within the area itself. While it is not possible to estimate precisely the total amount of external resources directed to the region in 1956-57, it appears that in total the equivalent of about US \$1,000 million has been made available by donor countries in the form of economic and technical assistance. From the beginning of the Colombo Plan to the middle of 1957 the total external aid has amounted to about US \$3,500 million. In addition, the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development has made loans to countries in the area amounting to about US \$39 million in 1956-57; and further loans to the value of US \$191 million have been made since June 1957. The total of International Bank loans to countries in the area since 1949 thus amounts to US \$586 million.

11. It is, of course, impossible to assess in monetary terms the economic value of technical assistance provided in the form of training or experts; but since 1950 training has been extended to approximately 13,000 trainees from countries of the area, while about 6,000 experts have been provided by Colombo Plan members and United Nations agencies.

12. The existence among the peoples of the region of confidence in their own destiny is a factor highly favourable to social and economic improvement. The problems remaining do not arise from static or stagnating economic conditions. Rather they are problems arising out of dynamic growth and expansion. They thus offer a challenge which will be met with a determination to achieve further progress in the years ahead.

13. These and other problems in the tasks ahead have been discussed at this meeting of the Consultative Committee and in Chapter II of the 1957 Annual Report. The full text of this chapter is attached.

14. The Consultative Committee accepted an invitation from the Government of the United States to hold the next meeting in the United States.

EXTRACT FROM ANNUAL REPORT

Chapter II

THE TASK AHEAD

1. Six years of the Colombo Plan have now elapsed: years in which member countries have been engaged in an intensive effort to accelerate economic development. It would be surprising if in this period some unforeseen problems, as well as unforeseen achievements, had not emerged. The maintenance of satisfactory future progress will in no small measure depend on readiness to face these problems, to recognize their causes, and take them fully into account in reaching new decisions.

2. The present Annual Report records the experience of another year. It provides an opportunity to assess, in the light of the continuously accumulating experience which it summarizes, the most significant trends, and to derive therefrom useful guidance for the future. Although this can be done only in a tentative way, the identification of the issues and the consideration of the various points of view and approaches adopted in the economic development process have given great value to the annual meetings of the Consultative Committee and to its Annual Reports.

3. The experience of the past year also serves to emphasize the lessons drawn out in previous Annual Reports. In 1956, the Report stressed the desirability of flexibility in implementing development programmes.² It also mentioned the problem of employing growing populations and increasing opportunities for cooperation between the countries of South and Southeast Asia. It referred to the allocation of resources between consumption and investment; to the need to mobilize the energy of private enterprise as well as that of Governments; and the importance of attracting external private investment. All these considerations remain highly relevant to other problems of the area and time is tending to confirm their importance.

4. The amount and utilization of capital available in the year 1956-57 provide very satisfactory evidence of the increasing tempo of economic development in South and Southeast Asia. In previous years one of the difficulties has been to use capital in development up to the full amounts potentially available. Shortages of some goods and facilities, of managerial skills, of technicians and of administrative personnel, combined with shortcomings in planning, have in many cases been the main limiting factors in development, with the result that projected developments have sometimes not been fully realized. This is still true of most countries. But the enormous amount of development activity currently in

² For an extract from the 1956 Annual Report, see *ibid.*, Jan. 7, 1957, p. 31.

progress in some countries is an indication of the vitality of their economies in both the public and the private sectors.

5. The experience of the past year has, however, underlined the risk that the pace of development may outrun the availability of resources, and the consequent need for the implementation of development plans to be flexible so that they can be rephased as necessary to match the resources available. Plans or policies serve the purpose of settling priorities and securing balanced development. At this meeting member countries reemphasized the need for a realistic approach to planning. They acknowledged that the implementation of formal plans may have led to rising confidence and increased demands in various parts of a country's economy, which raised consequential problems for all Governments.

6. The great economic growth now in progress in wide areas of the world, accelerated by the recent tremendous technological advances, is resulting in unprecedented demand for capital development. To this is added the demand arising from existing inflationary pressures. Nearly everywhere costs and prices are tending to rise, causing the demand for capital to press heavily on the supply of savings. The widespread and augmented demand for capital underlines the desirability for the countries of South and Southeast Asia to pursue policies which serve to attract available capital, domestic and external, into developmental efforts, and to assure the effective utilization of such capital. In such efforts to obtain needed capital, the potential contributions of external privately-owned capital require careful assessment. Such capital traditionally carries with it practical experience in the selection of those projects most likely to succeed and in the best manner of carrying them out. It also brings with it a wide range of know-how and technical skill.

7. Private capital already goes to South and Southeast Asia in significant amounts which cannot be exactly measured, through many diverse channels. The importance of foreign private capital lies both in its contribution to production facilities and in promoting local enterprise and talent. Governments of the area have generally shown awareness of the need to take positive steps, within the framework of their own particular economic circumstances, to encourage such investment. All countries have to compete for available private capital, and the advantage of the region in this competition is that it offers potentially large and growing markets. Capital may flow in from long-established business connections which are well acquainted with the conditions of the area. It may also flow in through industrial corporations new to the area, some with world-wide connections which are consequently selective in their decisions. They have a wide area of choice and they will naturally try to establish or expand industrial enterprises, frequently in cooperation with local private interests or Governments, in those countries where they believe that their investment will be most secure and profitable, and where the friendly receptivity of Governments is assured. The attractions of the region, however, can be counter-balanced by such factors as appre-

hensions as to the security of investment, difficulties with administrative and financial procedures and restrictions, and uncertainties about the incidence and weight of taxation. To such matters Governments will no doubt continue to give detailed consideration.

8. During the year a number of countries in South and Southeast Asia have run into balance of payments difficulties. They have been due to a variety of causes, for example different relative movements of prices, the impact of inflationary developments, or the increasing demand for imports flowing from the momentum of economic development. Such a situation tends to be aggravated by speculative factors. Some of the countries facing these difficulties have been fortunate in possessing substantial external reserves and have thus been able to cover the deficit in their balance of payments while measures to rectify their difficulties have had time to take effect. Some other countries whose exports are currently inadequate to pay for essential imports and whose exchange reserves are small in comparison with their needs have been helped by other external resources. While deficits may arise from unforeseen circumstances there are dangers in planning for even a temporary deficit in the balance of payments unless there are adequate exchange reserves or the certainty of other external resources to cover it.

9. In some countries, development plans look forward to the establishment of new manufacturing industries in order, among other things, to correct gradually a deficit in the balance of payments. But the experience of developing countries seems to indicate that the increased demand for capital equipment, raw materials, spare parts and consumer goods which accompanies or results from economic development, may lead to a substantial increase in the total import bill, with consequent continuing strain on the balance of payments. In dealing with this problem, due consideration needs to be given to the comparative advantage of the industries to be established as well as to the additional efforts required to promote a greater volume of exports at remunerative prices.

10. As previous Reports have emphasized, the great bulk of the finance needed for development must come from domestic resources, and the encouragement and mobilization of domestic savings, together with its utilization on wise economic lines, is therefore of crucial importance. In the case of most countries in the area, external aid can only be supplementary, although it may be particularly valuable in helping to cover some portion of the external costs of development or achieving other specific purposes.

11. Their own export earnings are, however, of predominant importance for the fortunes of most countries of the area. The almost inevitable fluctuations in the prices of stable exports pose a difficult problem, particularly for those countries dependent on one or two export items. There is no simple solution. Countries in this position may have to seek a solution in such ways as further diversification of their economies and the maintenance of financial reserves adequate to tide them over short-term fluctuations.

12. The settlement of main priorities is a matter to

which governments in the area are giving increasing attention. In the case of food-importing countries, the expansion of food production is a high priority. An adequately fed population is a first essential. Quite apart from the social disasters which a shortage of food can occasion, it can also have serious effects on prices and may necessitate a large diversion of resources to pay for urgent food imports. At the same time there are important food-exporting countries in the area and it is in the interests of their customers to profit from the natural advantages of these sources of supply and that the amounts of food available for export from these countries should continue to increase. Here again comparative advantage may determine the allocation of resources between alternative fields of production.

13. The provision of better transport facilities is another high priority in many countries, to enable the best use to be made of resources by increasing their mobility, to move agricultural produce from farms to markets, to bring raw materials to industries, and to provide access to external markets.

14. The problems of the countries of South and Southeast Asia vary very much. While some of the basic problems are quite similar, these countries are at many different stages of economic development. The differences in their size, in the extent of their entrepreneurial and administrative skills, and in the general character of their economies, all means that the methods of meeting their problems must also vary widely. This is well brought out in the case of technical assistance. Some countries need help most in the form of highly qualified missions specially equipped to deal with the planning or implementation of major projects. Other countries seek quite simple skills and it is thus important that technical assistance should fit the individual requirements of each country. Furthermore, advanced facilities are of little value unless the basic knowledge is available to enable them to be used. Continuing care is required to ensure that the waste of technical resources is avoided.

15. South and Southeast Asia with its hundreds of millions of people plays a large part in world trade, both in exporting primary products and manufactured goods and in providing great markets for the products of other countries. The potentialities of this two-way traffic are immense and it is in the interest of the world as a whole that these potentialities should be realized. World wide concern for the stability and economic development of the countries of the area is thus very great and is certain to remain so. Conversely, the affairs of the countries of the area are much influenced by events outside their borders, and by their ability to adjust themselves to these events. As mentioned earlier, the situation in the world capital markets affects the availability of capital for development. World demand affects their export earnings and their import costs. A major interest of these countries lies in a healthy and expanding world trade which can absorb their export commodities at remunerative prices; provide increasing quantities of capital and consumer goods in exchange; and, not least, add to the fund of savings upon which sound economic progress must be based.

16. There is continued reference throughout this Re-

port to the search by countries of the area for additional resources; more capital, more equipment, and more managerial and technical skills. But it would be wrong to regard the situation as wholly discouraging. These are the signs that the countries concerned are pressing on with urgent tasks of development and the raising of living standards with speed and energy. Reference to difficulties must not of course be taken to imply that the difficulties are insuperable, or indeed peculiar to countries at a relatively early stage of development. Signs of strain are by no means limited to the less industrialized countries: they have been repeatedly evident in recent years in some of the most highly developed countries in the world; these too tend to find themselves continuously faced with the need to balance resources against aspirations, and, while making the quickest possible advance, to be constantly on their guard against the onset of inflation and external disequilibrium. Efforts must not flag because the road ahead runs uphill.

U.S. Delegations to International Conferences

ECE Housing Committee

The Department of State announced on November 12 (press release 624) the designation of Milford A. Vieser, financial vice president, Mutual Benefit Life Insurance Company of Newark, N. J., to serve as U.S. delegate to the 15th session of the Housing Committee of the United Nations Economic Commission for Europe (ECE) to be held at Geneva, Switzerland, beginning November 20, 1957.

The Committee, which is one of the principal subsidiary groups of ECE, provides a forum where experts in the field of housing may meet periodically to consider and discuss problems of common interest. Discussions in the coming session will concern a series of papers on the financing of housing, technical cooperation, and the Committee's annual report to ECE.

West Indian Conference and Caribbean Commission

The Department of State announced on November 12 (press release 625) the U.S. delegation to the 7th session of the West Indian Conference, the major auxiliary body of the Caribbean Commission, which is being held at Curaçao, Netherlands Antilles, November 11-23, 1957, and to the Caribbean Commission, which will hold its 25th meeting, November 25-30, immediately following the West Indian Conference.

Meeting every 2 years, the West Indian Conference is attended by representatives from the American, British, French, and Netherlands Caribbean areas served by the Commission. The United States participates in these conferences with observer delegations. The observer delegation to the 7th session of the Conference will be composed of the following commissioners and advisers:

United States Commissioners

Roderic L. O'Connor, *chairman*, Administrator, Bureau of Security and Consular Affairs, Department of State
Leonard Brewer, St. Thomas, Virgin Islands

Arturo Morales Carrion, Under Secretary of State for the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico

José Trias Monge, Commonwealth of Puerto Rico

Advisers

Kelsey Gardner, director, Management Service, Farmer Cooperative Service, Department of Agriculture

Mrs. Frances McReynolds Smith, Office of Dependent Area Affairs, Department of State

Bolard More, Office of Dependent Area Affairs, Department of State

Mervyn V. Pallister, American Consul General, Curaçao, Netherlands Antilles

David B. Wharton, Office of British Commonwealth and Northern European Affairs, Department of State

Upon the invitation of the Caribbean Commission, the International Cooperation Administration is sending an observer to the Conference. He is Donald R. Laidig, housing expert, ICA, Washington, D.C.

The sessions of the West Indian Conference provide a regular means of consultation among delegates from the various areas of the Caribbean on matters of common interest. The major theme of this Conference will be "cooperatives, including the cooperative aspects of agricultural credit and low-cost housing." Another important item on the agenda calls for an exchange of views on the revision of the Caribbean Commission Agreement.

With the exception of Kelsey Gardner, who will attend only the West Indian Conference, the persons listed above will also constitute the U.S. delegation to the 25th meeting of the Caribbean Commission.

An outgrowth of the original Anglo-American Caribbean Commission, the Commission is an international advisory body. It serves to coordinate activities of the four member governments, France, Netherlands, the United Kingdom, and the United States, in their efforts to improve the

economic and social well-being of the inhabitants of the areas in the Caribbean over which they have administrative responsibility.

The principal items for consideration concern the proposed work program and draft budget for 1958, disposition of recommendations of the West Indian Conference which call for immediate action, preparation for technical conferences, and progress reports on technical assistance projects in housing, agriculture, home economics, fisheries, and education.

U.S. Views on Communist-Led Walkout at Red Cross Conference

*Statement by Joseph W. Reap
Acting Chief, News Division¹*

The walkout of the Chinese Communist and Soviet delegates to the International Red Cross Conference in New Delhi resulted from their unsuccessful attempt to exclude from that conference, on purely political grounds, the Government of the Republic of China, a U.N. member in good standing and a staunch long-time supporter of the Red Cross. Out of all the world only the Republic of China was to be excluded. Even the Communist regimes of north Korea, north Vietnam, East Germany, and Communist China were invited and seated.

The United States Government sent an official delegation to the conference on the understanding that it was organized on a truly unique, humanitarian, universal, and nonpolitical basis. In the face of the attempt to keep the Republic of China from its rightful place, the United States introduced a resolution which would make possible its seating on the same basis as all other delegations. This resolution was opposed in an undisguised political maneuver which grossly violated the principles of universality on which Red Cross conferences are based. Passage of the resolution defeated the Communist objective, and unfortunately they showed their displeasure by seeking to disrupt the conference.

¹ Made to news correspondents at Washington on Nov. 9 following the walkout on Nov. 7 of the Chinese Communist and Soviet delegates to the 19th International Red Cross Conference, which met at New Delhi, India, Oct. 28-Nov. 7.

Current U.N. Documents: A Selected Bibliography

General Assembly

- UNREF Executive Committee. Report and Further Recommendations on the Problem of Hungarian Refugees. Revision of Annexes I, II and III. A/AC.79/73/Annexes/Rev. 1, May 28, 1957. 19 pp. mimeo.
- UNREF Executive Committee. Present State of the UNREF and the Need of Further Contributions. A/AC.79/76, June 1, 1957. 8 pp. mimeo.
- UNREF Executive Committee. Future Arrangements for the UNREF Programme. A/AC.79/81, June 14, 1957. 7 pp. mimeo.
- Report on the Fifth Session of the UNREF Executive Committee. A/AC.79/78, June 17, 1957. 31 pp. mimeo.
- Addendum to the Report of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. Survey of the Non-Settled Refugee Population in Various Countries. Note by the High Commissioner. A/3585/Rev.1/Add.1, October 16, 1957. 59 pp. mimeo.
- Question of South West Africa. Report of the Fourth Committee (part I). A/3701, October 17, 1957. 19 pp. mimeo.
- Report of the Agent General of the United Nations Korean Reconstruction Agency. A/3651/Add.1, October 31, 1957. 6 pp. mimeo.
- Second Yearly Progress Report of the Scientific Committee on the Effects of Atomic Radiation to the General Assembly. A/3659, October 31, 1957. 13 pp. mimeo.
- Report of the Trusteeship Council. Offers by States Members of the United Nations of Study and Training Facilities for Inhabitants of Trust Territories. Report of the Secretary-General. A/3718, November 1, 1957. 14 pp. mimeo.
- Clearance of the Suez Canal. Report of the Secretary-General. A/3719, November 1, 1957. 14 pp. mimeo.
- Supplementary Estimates for the Financial Year 1957. Report of the Secretary-General. A/3720, November 4, 1957. 45 pp. mimeo.

Economic and Social Council

- Economic Commission for Latin America. Economic Problems of Agriculture. Report of Committee III. E/CN.12/AC.37/5/Rev.1, May 24, 1957. 33 pp. mimeo.
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- Report of the World Health Organization. Supplementary Report. E/2980/Add.1, June 19, 1957. 25 pp. mimeo.
- Report of the Commission on Narcotic Drugs. E/3010, E/CN.7/333, June 19, 1957. 130 pp. mimeo.
- Economic Commission for Latin America. ECLA Activities Relating to Payments and a Regional Market in Latin America. E/CN.12/483, July 10, 1957. 67 pp. mimeo.
- Human Rights. Report of the Social Committee. E/3027, July 15, 1957. 7 pp. mimeo.
- Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East. Committee on Industry and Natural Resources. Report of the Working Party on Small-Scale Industries and Handicraft Marketing. E/CN.11/I&NR/2, July 26, 1957. 30 pp. mimeo.
- International Control of Narcotic Drugs. Report of the Social Committee. E/3042, July 30, 1957. 6 pp. mimeo.
- Financial Implications of Actions of the Council. Report of the Co-ordination Committee. E/3045, July 31, 1957. 2 pp. mimeo.
- Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East. Committee on Industry and Natural Resources. Radio-

active Mineral Deposits in Asia and the Far East. Note by the Secretariat. E/CN.11/I&NR/Sub.3/4, August 20, 1957. 36 pp. mimeo.

Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East. Committee on Industry and Natural Resources. Report of the Working Party on Assessment of Hydro-Electric Potentials to the Sub-Committee on Electric Power. E/CN.11/I&NR/Sub.1/2, August 26, 1957. 42 pp. mimeo.

Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East. Committee on Industry and Natural Resources. Training of Technical Personnel for the Development of Mineral Resources in Countries of the ECAFE Region. Note by the Executive Secretary. E/CN.11/I&NR/Sub.3/3, August 26, 1957. 15 pp. mimeo.

TREATY INFORMATION

United States and Portugal Sign Supplementary Defense Agreement

Press release 631 dated November 15

Text of Joint Statement

The following joint statement was released simultaneously at Lisbon and Washington on November 15.

There was signed today at the Foreign Office in Lisbon by the Minister for Foreign Affairs and the Ambassador of the United States, a supplementary defense agreement by which the period mentioned in the defense agreement of September 6, 1951¹ was extended until December 31, 1962 for the preparation and carrying out of facilities of a military character in the Azores necessary for the common defense, in conformity with the plans of the countries signatory to the North Atlantic Treaty.

In this manner, the two governments once more give concrete evidence of their fidelity to the principle of collective security which represents an important contribution for the maintenance of peace.

Text of Agreement

The Portuguese Government and the Government of the United States of America:

Having in mind the considerations set forth in the Preamble of the existing Defense Agreement between

¹Treaties and Other International Acts Series 3087.

them signed on September 6, 1951, to which both governments continue to attach the highest importance as members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization;

Recognizing that some of the preparatory works provided for in Article 2 of the said Agreement are not yet completed and that there are still other construction projects which have been recognized by agreement between the military authorities of the two Governments as being absolutely essential to insure the fulfillment of the defense missions attributed to the Azores;

Agree as follows:

1) Article 2 Paragraph 2 of the Defense Agreement of September 6, 1951, is amended to read as follows:

"The term for the execution of what is set forth in the body of the present article and in sub-paragraph (1) will run from the date of signature of this Agreement until the 31st of December, 1962."

2) It is understood that the technical arrangements authorized by Article 1 of the Defense Agreement of September 6, 1951 are only those agreed upon through today's date, November 15, 1957, by the Ministers of Defense of the two Governments or their representatives.

3) This supplementary Agreement will enter into effect on the date of its signature.

In testimony thereof the respective plenipotentiaries of the two Governments have placed their signatures and affixed their seals to the present Agreement.

Done in Lisbon in two copies, in Portuguese and English, both texts having equal value, this 15th day of November, 1957.

Current Actions

MULTILATERAL

Automotive Traffic

Customs convention on temporary importation of private road vehicles. Done at New York June 4, 1954. Enters into force December 15, 1957.

Proclaimed by the President: November 12, 1957.

Aviation

Agreement on joint financing of certain air navigation services in Greenland and the Faroe Islands. Done at Geneva September 25, 1956.¹

Acceptances deposited: Federal Republic of Germany, October 15, 1957; United Kingdom, October 18, 1957.

Agreement on joint financing of certain air navigation services in Iceland. Done at Geneva September 25, 1956.²

Acceptances deposited: Federal Republic of Germany, October 15, 1957; United Kingdom, October 18, 1957.

Bills of Lading

International convention for unification of certain rules relating to bills of lading, and protocol of signature. Dated at Brussels August 25, 1924. Entered into force June 2, 1931. 51 Stat. 233.

Ratification deposited: Japan, July 1, 1957.²

¹ Not in force.

² With a declaration.

Cultural Property

Convention for the protection of cultural property in the event of armed conflict, and regulations of execution. Done at The Hague May 14, 1954. Entered into force August 7, 1956.³

Ratifications deposited: Jordan, October 2, 1957; Israel, October 3, 1957.

Protocol for the protection of cultural property in the event of armed conflict. Done at The Hague May 14, 1954. Entered into force August 7, 1956.³

Ratification deposited: Jordan, October 2, 1957.

Genocide

Convention on the prevention and punishment of the crime of genocide. Done at Paris December 9, 1948. Entered into force January 12, 1951.³

Ratification deposited: Pakistan, October 12, 1957.

Trade and Commerce

General agreement on tariffs and trade, with annexes and schedules, and protocol of provisional application. Concluded at Geneva October 30, 1947. TIAS 1700.

Admitted as contracting parties: Ghana, October 17, 1957; Federation of Malaya, October 24, 1957.

BILATERAL

China

Agreement for the exchange of insured parcel post. Signed at Taipei July 30 and at Washington August 19, 1957.

Entered into force: November 1, 1957 (date fixed by mutual consent between the postal administrations of the two countries).

Germany

Agreement regarding the importation of foreign films into and the screen-time quota for exhibition in the Federal Republic of Germany. Signed at Bonn April 26, 1956. Entered into force August 17, 1957. TIAS 3829.

Notification by the Federal Republic of Germany of application to: Land Berlin (effective from August 17, 1957).

Korea

Agreement further amending the agricultural commodities agreement of March 13, 1956, as amended (TIAS 3516, 3651, 3667, 3733, and 3812). Effected by exchange of notes at Washington August 16, 1957. Entered into force August 16, 1957.

Agreement amending the agricultural commodities agreement of January 30, 1957 (TIAS 3742). Effected by exchange of notes at Washington August 16, 1957. Entered into force August 16, 1957.

DEPARTMENT AND FOREIGN SERVICE

Designations

Donald D. Kennedy as Deputy Assistant Secretary for Economic and Regional Affairs, Bureau of Near Eastern, South Asian, and African Affairs, effective November 12,

³ Not in force for the United States.

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Releases may be obtained from the News Division, Department of State, Washington 25, D. C. Release issued prior to November 11 which appears in this issue of the BULLETIN is No. 621 of November 7.

No.	Date	Subject
623	11/12	Beale: "The Challenge Today in Trade Policy."
624	11/12	Delegate to ECE Housing Committee (rewrite).
625	11/12	Delegation to West Indian Conference and Caribbean Commission (rewrite).
†626	11/13	Rubottom: "The Significance of Latin America in the Free World."
627	11/14	Shipment of arms to Tunisia.
†628	11/14	ILO delegation (rewrite).
629	11/15	Philippine-American Day.
†630	11/15	Travel regulations for Soviets in U.S.
631	11/15	U.S.-Portuguese supplementary defense agreement.
632	11/15	U.S.-Mexican negotiations on allocation of TV channels.
†633	11/16	Dillon: "International Trade and Development—The Year Ahead."

†Held for a later issue of the BULLETIN.



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Early in 1957 Iraq associated itself with the American Doctrine for the Middle East, whose principal aim is to help the states of that area maintain their freedom and national independence.

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